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CONTINUING RESPONSE TO ANDROPOV MISSILE PROPOSAL

SFRY: Proposal 'Good News'

AU301154 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 83 p 2

[Dragan Vukobratovic commentary: "A Way Out of Impasse"]

[Text] The news from Moscow on the eve of the past weekend was immediately accorded a prominent place on the front pages of all world dailies: The Soviet Union, as one of the leading nuclear powers, is ready to destroy a part of its nuclear forces

The fact that Yuriy Andropov, head of the Soviet party and state, personally set forth this "concession to the West" was an event worthy of the greatest attention even for the hardened skeptics toward everything that comes from Moscow.

Thus, only some 10 days after his appeal to U.S. President Reagan to reach an "honorable agreement" in Geneva, Andropov went a step further: for the first time in the 15-month long but futile disarmament negotiations in Geneva, Moscow has agreed, naturally under certain conditions, to destroy a "considerable number" of its SS-20 intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

The Soviet Union is practically ready to retain in Europe only as many missiles as both France and Great Britain together have (162). "The excess" of these dangerous weapons would not be transferred "behind the Urals," as had been previously planned, but would be destroyed instead.

Regardless of the clear, pragmatic political goals (meeting the demands voiced in West European countries and improving relations with the Asian neighbors, the PRC and Japan, which have been alarmed by the news about the transfer of missiles near their borders), it is difficult to fail to see in Moscow's latest proposal a sincere aspiration, in the continuation of the Geneva negotiations (6 September), to finally overcome the impasse and "prevent the start of a new round of arming" which has already reached really intolerably dangerous proportions.

The data set forth at the regional disarmament conference held under the UN auspices in New Delhi just in recent days very convincingly attest to this almost unprecedented escalation of cold war. At a time when the big powers have at their disposal an arsenal of 50,000 nuclear warheads with a destructive power that is 1 million times greater than the destructive power of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima, the annual spending for new weapons has increased to a total of $800 billion whereas, at the same time, the total debts of undeveloped and developing countries amount to a total of $600 billion.

In view of this knowledge, the "desire of mankind to survive" is becoming greater and greater from day to day. The increasingly active antiwar and antinuclear peace movements which, in Western Europe, have already announced a "hot political fall" with the aim of preventing the U.S. and NATO plans to transform the old continent into an even greater storehouse of nuclear weapons, are an expression of this desire.

But, as it was concluded at the aforementioned New Delhi conference, this desire can only be fulfilled with a general and complete disarmament which "must take place sooner or later."

It is clear, however, that no excessive illusions should be entertained even after this really good news from Moscow. The first reactions in Western capitals, too, lead to this conclusion. True, a majority of Western official figures "greet" Andropov's proposal and many of them appraise it as "positive and welcome." But all this is interwoven with the well known skepticism and suspicion toward the Soviet proposals behind which many of them continue to sense Moscow's aspiration to retain a nuclear monopoly in Europe.

Nevertheless, it seems to us that a majority of observers in the world believe that the latest Soviet proposal represents a great encouragement for all those who strive for peace, for the continuation of the Geneva negotiations and, at least, for a postponement of the deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe. Even in the FRG, 75 percent of people resolutely oppose the deployment of these missiles.

Briefly, the Soviet proposal has been received among the world public as a concession to the West which the American Pentagon's and the NATO's military strategists, too, will not be able to pass over lightly.

CSSR Urges West's Acceptance

AU301204 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 83 p 6

[Zdenek Porybny commentary in the "We Comment" column: "Using the Chance While There Is Still Time"]

[Text] A great deal depends on the success of the Geneva negotiations on limiting nuclear arms in Europe. Not only the participants in the negotiations, the USSR and the United States, but also the whole of Europe and the world will feel the effects of their successful, or unsuccessful, conclusion. On the one hand, we see the outlines of a chance to halt the arms race in intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe -- this would logically lead to a reduction in tension and a positive change in relations between the USSR and the United States, between East and West, and it would also make our world more peaceful and secure. On the other hand a failure, and the deployment of new American missiles, would lead to an irrevocable escalation of the arms race that is so expensive and pointless and, what is even more vital, would enhance the possibility of the outbreak of a nuclear war.

But a failure of the negotiations is not predestined or inevitable. There is a chance of reaching an agreement in Geneva, it must just be taken. An unprecedented peace movement in the world is exerting increasing pressure on governments. "Yes" to peace and negotiations, "no" to confrontation and the new American missiles -- this was not only the slogan of the Prague world assembly of peace forces this June, it has also become the slogan that is increasingly mobilizing peace fighters all over our planet.

In his interview for PRAVDA on Saturday, Yuriy Andropov, top Soviet representative, announced yet another significant USSR initiative for Geneva. "In the event of reaching a mutually acceptable agreement, including a U.S. decision to abandon deployment of new missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union, while maintaining its intermediate-range missiles in the European part of the country on a level equal to that of the number of British and French missiles, would liquidate all the missiles by which the existing strength would be reduced."

In this way the Soviet official disproved the claims made by certain Western representatives that the USSR would not liquidate its intermediate-range missiles even in the event of a Geneva agreement and that it would merely transfer an appropriate number of the missiles from its European part to its Asian part, where they would threaten the neighboring countries, namely Japan and China. But now everything is clear. The Soviet Union confirms that, if the new American missiles are not deployed in Europe, it is prepared to liquidate all its intermediate-range missiles in Europe (including a considerable number of the most modern missiles) over and above the 162 British and French missiles. In this way, in essence, nothing should prevent an agreement.

The West's reaction to Comrade Andropov's words, however, has not been very encouraging so far. In its first declaration, the White House again demands the exclusion of British and French missiles in the sum-total of the balance of forces in Europe; and the same is said by the West German Foreign Minister Genscher. Moreover, as one of the CDU/CSU parliamentary spokesman did not hesitate to say in the Bundestag, in the event that the American missiles are not deployed in Europe, the Soviet Union would allegedly have a nuclear monopoly. The British and French missiles are thus a mere fata morgana! Or are these and certain other representatives of the NATO countries really so blind that they do not see those 162 British and French nuclear missiles, aimed against the Soviet Union? No, they are not blind, they simply do not want to see them.

Because, in fact, they are resolved to get the new American missiles into Europe at any price. Their reason? It must be sought in the American strategy of confrontation with the socialist states, in the endeavor to create the potential of a first nuclear strike which would incapacitate the Soviet ability to retaliate. Europe should become the battlefield of war, allegedly a "limited" war; the nuclear mushroom clouds should poison only our own continent, but not the United States. The missiles chosen by the Pentagon for this purpose are called Pershing II and Tomahawk (with a flat trajectory). Until the United States has abandoned its hope of succeeding in acquiring military-strategic supremacy over the Soviet Union in this way, it will continue to claim that the British and French missiles do not exist and that the monopoly in nuclear missiles is held in Europe by the Soviet Union.

Comrade Andropov has again pointed out with all seriousness to the advocates of these theories that, should the U.S. attitude in Geneva continue to remain unconstructive, and should new American missiles really be deployed in Europe, "we will naturally have to take appropriate countermeausres to preserve the balance of forces both on a regional, European, and on a global scale."

At their meeting in Moscow at the end of June, the top representatives of the Warsaw Pact states called upon the NATO states to honorably approach this issue, which is so important for the European nations and for the whole world. It is not too late -- such is the sense of their joint declaration. Two months have passed, but no positive reply has come from the United States and NATO.

The Soviet Union's new initiative is now offering the United States and its allies an opportunity to reassess their attitude to date. Another round of Soviet-American talks on limiting nuclear arms in Europe will begin in Geneva in a week's time. It is thus not yet too late. But time passes quickly. The United States wants to foist on Europe the first Pershing II missiles already toward the end of this year. This means, in 4 month's time.

Dzhurov Backs USSR Stand

AU300951 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Aug 83 pp 1,3

[Speech by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, delivered in Smolyan on 27 August on the occasion of conferring cadet titles on the "Rodopski" class of 1983]

[Excerpts] Comrade generals, officers and sergeants: In order to successfully resolve the historic tasks that we have set for ourselves to build a mature socialist society, we need peace. The 6-decade experience has confirmed that peace and socialism are indivisible. It was not accidental that the first decree of the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution was a decree on peace. Since then and also today, the main concern of the Soviet Union and, consequently of the socialist society, is to preserve and consolidate peace. In this spirit are also the latest proposals by Comrade Andropov in his answers to questions posed to him by PRAVDA. The world is a witness to the fact that all substantial proposals on strengthening peace, peaceful coexistence, and detente have been made so far by the Soviet Union and the rest of the countries of the socialist community. To them belong the initiatives on liquidating local military conflicts, on normalizing the international situation, on not allowing a new world conflagration whose flames will burn out contemporary civilization. These are not mere words: this is reality. Now, tons of explosive have been accumulated for each man on Earth. And what about radiation and the radiation contamination of the land as a result of such an explosion? Not only will the present generation not survive, but it is problematic whether there will be any future generations. The idea of whether we will preserve peace or whether a nuclear disaster will hit the Earth is not a far-fetched idea at all. The struggle for peace that the socialist countries and the progressive people in the world are waging is actually a struggle for survival, a struggle for preserving life on Earth.

Our socialist motherland is in the frontranks of this struggle. Bulgaria makes its contribution to consolidating the situation in the Balkans, Europe, and throughout the world.

The Prague Declaration of the Warsaw Pact member countries was approved with Bulgaria's signature, and its leader, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, has also signed the document of the Moscow conference of the leaders of the seven socialist countries. These two documents address the most alarming questions of our times, and they point out realistic ways toward safeguarding peace.

Radically different is the approach of the imperialist countries. Under the dictate of the U.S. Administration, in the past several years the West has undertaken another step toward the road of confrontation and preparation of war. New systems of weapons have been created -- neutron, binary, laser, and space. The old systems -- nuclear missiles stationed on land, under sea, and in the air, and those with strategic or intermediate range as well as new types of planes, tanks, and other weapons -- are being modernized.

All this is something new. The striving of the imperialists, however, to tip the balance of power in their favor -- which would present them a possibility to dictate their will over the peoples, to snuff out progressive movements in the world at their very beginning, and in the final analysis, to wipe out socialism from the Earth -- is and old one. This is the old desire of the reactionary imperialist circles, and their present thoughts and actions are aimed at achieving this. They, however, do not only think but they also act. Statistical data indicate that since World War II, approximately 300 local wars have been waged on Earth for which the imperialists have been responsible. In them more than 10 million people have perished.

Some 15 such wars and about 10 smaller conflicts are being waged now. Therefore, at 25 points in the world there are shootings and people are being killed. Such is the humanity-hating nature of imperialism!

The Reagan administration's decision to deploy the latest intermediate-range nuclear missiles on the territories of certain West European countries up to the end of 1983 is particularly dangerous for the cause of peace. These missiles are capable of striking targets deep in the territory of the Soviet Union in only a few minutes, not taking into consideration the territories of the European socialist countries, including Bulgaria. If this decision is realized, the balance of power existing now in Europe will thus be violated.

You, yourselves, understand, comrades, that the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries cannot be indifferent in the face of nuclear death standing on the threshold of our own home. That is why the Soviet Government has so categorically stated that, in coordination with its allies, it will undertake appropriate measures which will also create, on the territories of the United States and of the countries where the U.S. missiles will be deployed, the same military threat which the United States is trying to create against the Soviet Union and its allies. All Warsaw Pact member-countries, are backing this stand of the Soviet Union.

This could be compared with the biblical proverb "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," but there is no other way. Historical experience teaches us that the imperialists understand little from words. They take into account only strength. After all, we are not weak and we also can show our strength. Our people say "a rough customer needs rough handling."

Being deeply aware of the military threat, the Bulgarian soldiers are constantly improving their skill and combat readiness in order to accomplish the tasks set for them by the motherland and the party. Together with their brothers-in-arms and the ideas of the armies of the Warsaw Pact member-countries, and led by the invincible armed forces of the Soviet Union, they are ready to defend the great achievements of socialism

Bucharest Reports Andropov Interview

AU291200 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] In an interview for PRAVDA, Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, talked about the question of Euromissiles and Soviet-PRC ties. Yuriy Andropov said that if a mutually acceptable agreement is reached at the Geneva negotiations, including renunciation by the United States of the deployment of new missiles in Europe, the USSR will reduce its intermediate-range missiles in the European part of the country down to an equal number of missiles as that possessed by Great Britain and France, and will liquidate all the missiles to be reduced.

Concerning ties with the PRC, Yuriy Andropov said that a positive development of Soviet-Chinese relations would benefit both countries and the entire international situation.

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON TU DELEGATION'S SYRIAN VISIT

AU301900 Sofia BTA in English 1852 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Sofia, Aug 30 (BTA) -- A delegation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, led by Candidate-Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Mr Petur Dyulgerov, paid an official visit to Syria from August 26 through 29.

The delegation was received by the president of Syria, Mr Hafiz al-Asad, who has sent a message to Mr Todor Zhivkov.

"The Bulgarian Trade Unions and the General Confederation of the Trade Unions of the Workers in Syria give a positive assessment to the results in the development of bilateral trade union relations, which constitute a major contribution to the constant expansion and strengthening of friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and Syria," stresses the joint communique submitted for publication.

The two trade union centres are convinced that the main culprit for the tension in the Middle East is Israel, which, backed by the United States, continues the occupation of Arab territories, intensifying its expansionist policy of aggression, the aim of which is the division of Lebanon and the destruction of the Palestine resistance movement.

The two delegations stress the major role of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are playing in resolving the Middle East problem. They condemn the separate deals, such as the so-called "Reagan Plan" and consider that peace in the Middle East can be achieved through the complete pullout of Israel from the occupied Arab territories and after granting the people of Palestine their lawful right, including their right to self-determination and the foundation of an independent state.

The two trade union centres insist on the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from Lebanon and say they stand for the preservation of the unity and the sovereignty of that state.

AZ-ZU 'BI-LED SYRIAN DELEGATION CONTINUES VISIT

Exchanges Speeches With Mladenov

JN302022 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1345 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Sofia, 30 Aug (SANA) -- Bulgaria has renewed its strong support for Syria's struggle against imperialism and Zionism, as well as for the brave and wise policy adopted by the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and its Secretary General, Comrade Struggler President Hafiz al-Asad.

This came in a speech by Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov during his meeting today with the People's Assembly Speaker Mahmud az-Zu'bi and his accompanying delegation who are currently visiting Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian foreign minister affirmed his country's support for Syria's stand which rejects the agreement of submission which the United States and Israel are trying to impose on the Lebanese people. He said that the Syrian forces entered Lebanon to rescue it from partition, to put an end to the civil war, and to restore peace and stability to it, while the Israeli forces invaded the Lebanese territories so as to entrench their occupation and to partition Lebanon.

The Bulgarian minister condemned the acts of piracy which Israel is carrying out in Lebanon and the U.S. attempts to impose hegemony on the region. The minister affirmed that there will be no solution to the Middle East problem except by solving the Palestinian question, establishing an independent Palestinian state under the PLO leadership, and achieving Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967.

The Bulgarian official warned against Israel practices and U.S. imperialist plans which escalate tension and trigger war in the region. He held Israel and the United States responsible for this tension.

Mladenov affirmed Bulgaria's confidence in the courage and strength of the Syrian people and their capability, under the leadership of President Hafiz al-Asad, to overcome all hardships and achieve their aspirations for construction and liberation.

The Bulgarian minister expressed his country's appreciation for Syria's steadfast stand against U.S. and Israeli challenges, plots, and plans. He condemned Reagan's plan and considered it a copy of the Camp David accords. He also noted the aggressiveness of the present U.S. Administration and its attempts to escalate the arms race and deploy nuclear war heads in Europe which threaten world peace and security. Furthermore, the minister referred to the international situation and the U.S. role in creating tension in various parts of the world.

Minister Mladenov praised Syria's great achievements and asserted Bulgaria's intention to pursue its steps toward developing relations between the two friendly countries and strengthening them in various fields.

People's Assembly Speaker Mahmud az-Zu'bi replied by saying: We thank Bulgaria's Government, party, president, and people, for their honorable stands in support of Syria and the Arab nation and their fateful issues. We also value the genuine feelings of Bulgaria and the socialist bloc states, led by the USSR, toward Syria.

Az-Zu'bi emphasized Syria's determination to pursue its just struggle, under the leadership of President Hafiz al-Asad, against the imperialist and Zionist onslaught. He said: Our stand is firm, and all imperialist pressures and attempts will not succeed in changing our trend and stand.

Az-Zu'bi praised the developing Syrian-Bulgarian relations and said: We believe that our friendship with Bulgaria and the socialist bloc states is strategic. All the forces of progress and peace in the world must support this bloc to face the U.S. imperialist onslaught against the peoples of the world who are looking for freedom, independence, and liberation.

Az-Zu'bi affirmed that the United States is currently exerting pressure on Syria, given that it is the only steadfast bastion in the face of plans and conspiracies which aim to liquidate the Arab movement of progress and liberation and exploit Arab resources and the region's strategic position for achieving U.S. ambitions and aggressive policy.

Az-Zu'bi noted that the importance of meetings and contacts between the two friendly countries, Syria and Bulgaria, which will result in entrenching their relations. He praised the present cooperation between the two countries in various fields and called for strengthening and developing them. He also praised the efforts of the Bulgarian experts working in Syria.

Az-Zu'bi wished continued success to the friendly Bulgarian people under the leadership of Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Confers With Chairman Todorov

UN291750 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1400 GMT 29 Aug

[Text] Sofia, 29 Aug (SANA) -- People's Assembly Speaker Mahmud az-Zu'bi met here today with Bulgarian National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov, deputies to the chairman, members of the permanent committees, and members of the Syrian-Bulgarian Friendship Society in the presence of Syrian Ambassador to Bulgaria Taha al-Khayrat.

During the meeting, the two sides touched on the parliamentary relations between the two friendly countries, the situation in the region, and the international situation. Az-Zu'bi also praised Bulgaria's position toward the just Arab causes and stressed the need to promote relations on all levels between the two countries. He also talked about the circumstances through which the Arab region is passing as a result of the combined imperialist-Zionist onslaught and the dangerous tension which prevails in the region in view of the conspiratorial and expansionist designs, U.S. attempts to spread hegemony over the region, and continued U.S. support for Israel.

Az-Zu'bi also talked about Syria's firm, principled position toward the region's issues and the agreement of submission, which the United States and Israel are trying to impose on the Lebanese people. He also affirmed that Syria, under the leadership of President Hafiz al-Asad, firmly stands in the face of all the conspiracies and plans on the basis of its intrinsic strength and with the support of the Arab homeland's liberation and progressive forces and the socialist bloc countries, foremost of which are the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. He also explained the aims of the invasion of Lebanon and Israel's ambitions in Arab territories. He added that Syria supports the Palestinian revolution and is concerned about the unity of the Palestinian resistance. Az-Zu'bi also talked about the accomplishments which Syria has realized in all fields particularly after the Corrective Movement led by President Hafiz al-Asad. He also talked about the role of the legislative authority in Syria and the activities of People's Assembly on domestic, Arab, and international levels and in the field of popular control.

The Bulgarian National Assembly chairman praised Syria's struggle and reiterated his country's support for that struggle, which is highly appreciated and admired by the Bulgarian people. He also affirmed that despite its circumstances and its preoccupation with strengthening its defensive forces, Syria has managed to achieve great progress and development. He also expressed his confidence that Syria, under President Hafiz al-Asad's brave and wise policy, will certainly realize its aims in liberation, wrest its rights, and achieve victory.

LILOV GREETED BY AWARD ON 50TH BIRTHDAY 30 AUG

AU301918 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent a greetings message to Comrade Aleksandur Lilov congratulating him most cordially and fraternally on his 50th birthday and on being awarded the Georgi Dimitrov Order. The message points out that schooled by the Komsomol, and educated in the BCP ranks, Comrade Aleksandur Lilov grew up in the fresh April atmosphere as a noted party and state figure, inspired builder of the mature socialist society, and enthusiastic fighter for the vital Bulgarian-Soviet friendship.

The BCP Central Committee cordially wishes Comrade Aleksandur Lilov good health and vitality, so that he can work for the benefit and happiness of the Bulgarian people and for further developing our great socialist homeland -- the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

CPCZ WEEKLY ATTACKS POLISH MARXIST'S VIEWS

AU3O1056 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 33 17 Aug 83 p 3

[Ivan Hlivka and Ladislav Tomasek article: "In the Revisionist Garb" -- passages in capitalized letters published in Boldface]

[Text] IN THE FRATERNAL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, UNCEASING DISCUSSIONS ARE TAKING PLACE ABOUT THE STAGES OF THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM. IN CREATIVE DISCUSSIONS (AND, NOT INFREQUENTLY, IN DISPUTES) THE FRATERNAL PARTIES HAVE WORKED OUT THE CONCEPT OF ADVANCED SOCIALISM. THE WORK ON DEFINING THIS CONCEPT WITH GREATER ACCURACY AND ON FURTHER DEEPENING IT CONTINUES. THIS IS NATURAL. MARXISTS DO NOT PERCEIVE SOCIALISM AS SOME SORT OF AN ABSTRACT IDEAL, BUT DERIVE THEIR NOTIONS OF SOCIALISM FROM REALITY -- FROM THE CONCRETE ANALYSIS OF THE GENERAL TRENDS AND LAWS OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES, IN VARIOUS SECTORS OF SOCIAL LIFE, AND SO FORTH. EXPERIENCE CONFIRMS THAT ANY DISREGARD FOR THE FUNCTIONING OF THE MECHANISM OF THE LAWS GOVERNING THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM LEADS TO DIFFICULTIES AT ALL LEVELS OF SOCIAL LIFE, IN POLITICS, IN THE ECONOMY, AND IN THE MORAL AND IDEOLOGICAL STATE OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

In such situations, some authors tend to succumb to doubts, generalize mistakes, and disregard successes. Others sense their chance in such moments, pull out "old aces," and dust off long refuted propositions which they garb in a new guise.

Vulgarizing the Teaching of Marx

The Polish philosopher Adam Schaff, for example, flatly casts doubt on the existence of socialism not only in Poland but also in other fraternal socialist countries. That also means in Czechoslovakia. We have to remember that he is a citizen of a country in which counterrevolution has jeopardized the very essence of people's power, of a country whose workers party is looking for the way out of a crisis.

Recently, A. Schaff expressed his harmful views on the pages of the Krakow journal ZDANIE (1983, No 4). In his article, he is out to answer the question of whether Marxism is going through a crisis at present. His answer is peculiar: Allegedly, one can speak of a crisis of practice, a crisis which -- in his opinion -- is rooted in the fact that practice has revised Marx in a crucial point of his teaching, in the question of revolution. This revision allegedly dates back to October 1917.

Schaff's argument is not original. After the October Revolution, rightwing social democrats were claiming that October was not a "genuine" revolution (what "genuine" revolution can there be in a country of peasants? -- asked Kautsky), that it was some sort of a "historical anomaly," that "genuine" revolutions are a thing of the future, and that they will be carried out only in advanced capitalist countries. This would happen by peaceful means, most likely "by way of negotiations" with the bourgeoisie, within the framework of "laws." That which Schaff is laying claim to as his original invention is, in fact, old hat -- it exists in the records of rightwing revisionists.

Schaff selected as the point of departure for his doubts about the right of the countries of real socialism to exist, Marx's proposition that the revolution will prevail in a country marked by a high level of economic and industrial development and possessing a large and mature workers class. He postulates this proposition as an unchanging, key element of Marxism. And he then pits against it a "fact", which is itself untrue: supposedly, there is no "country of so-called real socialism" in which the revolution took place in accordance with Marx's scenario.

Of course, Schaff is cheaply generalizing by disregarding, for example, the history of the revolution in our country or in the GDR. Wherein lies Schaff's fundamental error? In that he interprets revolution in a historic and dogmatic fashion. After all, Marx and Engels were ascertaining the prerequisites for revolution in the period of free competition capitalism when the conflicts between labor and capital and between production forces and production relations were ripening, on the global scale, in a relatively even fashion.

Schaff is thus taking us agin to Lenin's old polemics with Sukhanov, in which Lenin stressed the political role of power and spoke out against the dogmatic, positivist falsification of Marxism, which, acting against the revolution, insists on the "level of production forces."

SCHAFF'S INTENTION IS OBVIOUS: TO GIVE SUPPORT TO THE VIEWS THAT SOCIALISM WAS "EXPORTED" TO POLAND AND THAT THE MISTAKES AND SHORTCOMINGS THAT OCCURRED IN POLAND WERE NOT A CONSEQUENCE OF THE FAILURE TO OBSERVE THE LAWS GOVERNING THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM, BUT THAT THEY ALLEGEDLY CONSTITUTE PROOF THAT SOCIALISM "HAS NO BUSINESS" TO BE IN POLAND.

People say that giving false information is a way of expressing hatred; concealing information is, in fact, a way of giving false information. Schaff ignores Leninism. He conceals the fact that Lenin creatively developed the Marxist teaching about revolution. He discredits the revolutionary practice of the entire world revolutionary movement. He evades and ignores the importance of the experiences of the CPSU; for the Soviet Union and its people, he only finds the word "they".

Lenin approached Marx's and Engels' analyses of the prerequisites for a socialist revolution in a responsible and creative manner. He discovered the law of the uneven ripening of the revolutionary situation. He showed that the revolutionary situation first becomes ripe where the economic and political contradictions of the world imperialist system becomes tied into knots, which does not necessarily have to be in the economically most advanced countries. Proceeding in harmony with the teaching of Marx and Engels, Lenin proved that not only economic factors give rise to revolutionary situations (although, ultimately, they are decisive) but that economic, political, and ideological factors exert their influence in dialectical unity. A revolutionary situation is not determined by objective conditions alone, but by the unity of objective and subjective conditions. These methodological approaches and theoretical conclusions of Lenin have been confirmed by history.

FROM THAT WHICH SCHAFF SAID, HINTED AT, OR DID NOT SAY, CLEARLY FOLLOWS THE ENDEAVOR TO TWIST THE ESSENCE OF MARXIST-LENINIST REVOLUTIONARY TEACHING, THE ENDEAVOR TO PIT, SO TO SPEAK, LENIN AGAINST MARX. Schaff falsifies the crux of the matter; he grossly twists the methodological viewpoints and political views of the great theorists and leaders of the proletariat. He presents Marx as an advocate of determination and objectivism, while regarding Lenin as a voluntaristic practitioner, as a subjectivist who invested all his intentions in revolutionary force.

What interests does Schaff pursue in examining historical reality and the teaching of Marxism-Leninism in a deformed and distorted way? The lack of truth in his interpretation of the development of the world revolution clearly stems from his dogmatic and metaphysical analysis of the revolutionary teaching. He does not want to see that, with his scientific work, Lenin consistently followed up on Marx and Engels, that his ideas have therefore become an active factor in the development of the ideology and politics of the world proletariat, and that his teaching has become the Marxism of the new historical epoch.

Lie -- the Norm of His Mode of Thinking

To make the main lie more effective, Schaff adds to it, without the slightest hesitation, another lie. He claims, for example, that we will not find the term socio-economic formation in Marx, only the term economic formation. This is an attempt to reduce Marx's contribution to the economic sphere, which runs sharply counter to the gist, spirit, and meaning of Marxism, to his teaching about the dialectics of being and awareness, and to the ideas expressed in a number of Marx's works.

The perniciousness of this procedure of Schaff is apparent. HE WANTS TO JUSTIFY THE ATTEMPTS OF SOME FORCES TO CREATE ABOVE THE SOCIALIST ECONOMIC BASE MISCELLANEOUS FORMS OF SUPRASTRUCTURE, ASSERT THE COEXISTENCE OF DIVERSE PHILOSOPHIES, AND IMPLEMENT VARIOUS "MODELS OF SOCIALISM." Moreover, this makes it possible to deny or at least weaken the leading ideological role of dialectical and historical materialism and to indirectly concede the possibility of the dominant role of another ideology, and hence also the bourgeois ideology. It is self-evident that this position especially suits the Catholic Church, part of which speculates that one day the materialist philosophy might become exhausted and lose authority among the masses. (Schaff claims that Marxism has already lost its influence on the intelligentsia). This would give an opportunity to the Church, which would supposedly fill the vacuum with spiritual values that would meet the unsatiated spiritual needs of the people, satisfy, and guide them. After all, the church can adjust to the economic base and, if need be, even to nationalized production assets. In a way, this concept of Schaff accommodates technocratism. However, it is fundamentally incompatible with the historic mission of the workers class.

Schaff mostly lives in the countries of the capitalist West. That is why he surely cannot but feel embarrassed when he wants to recommend a return from socialism to capitalism. HOWEVER, WHAT IN THE PRESENT CAPITALIST WORLD CAN HE PIT AGAINST THE GAINS OF REAL SOCIALISM? Could it be the profound and chronic economic crisis, unemployment, support for people without means of sustenance, inflation, and rapid deterioration of social programs, which condemn broad masses of working people in the capitalist countries to further cuts in their standard of living?

Schaff obviously knows this very well. That is why he expresses his concern over the fact that the ruling groups in the advanced capitalist countries do not sufficiently realize the social consequences of the scientific-technical revolution. Their policies sharply increase unemployment and, step by step, prepare conditions for revolutionizing the masses. This is apparently another thing that bothers Schaff.

It is not by coincidence that a sharp ideological struggle for man is underway between Marxism and its adversaries. It is a struggle for a change in people's minds, for transforming the system of the orientation of people's values in the present world. Schaff, too, has not evaded this struggle. However, he persistently repeats his (supposedly new!) conclusions from the book "Marxism and the Individual" (published in 1965), in which, as he proudly says, he took a stand against the vulgarized notion that man is a product of social relations. Allegedly, he was concerned with taking a stand against vulgar institutionalized collectivism, of which he is trying to accuse Marxism.

However, Schaff's charges don't hold water. It is, admittedly, true that Marxism stresses the social nature of man, but it does not abolish and does not intend to abolish his individuality. Every person with an average education knows this today. After all, a comprehensively developed, free personality is the fundamental strategic goal and the basic value of Marxism. The authentic emancipation of man forms the beginning and the end of Marxism.

Speaking about man's individuality and pitting it against socialist collectivism, which is what Schaff is doing, is, for objective reasons, tantamount to thwarting the humanitarian efforts of the socialist society by means of abstract humanism and makes the shaping of the political and ideological unity of the people in the socialist society more difficult.

It is then quite logical that Schaff does not say anything about the workers class and its revolutionary party, and only in passing mentions the pragmatism of class struggle. However, the term pragmatism can also be perceived as something that exists in political practice but that can also be dispensed with if the potentials and needs of the scientific-technical revolution are realized. This revolution could -- this is at least what Schaff believes -- push class struggle into the background, deprive the countries of real socialism of their key, leading role in the present and, above all, the future world revolutionary process, reduce the specific weight of the workers movement in the advanced capitalist countries, and orient the development in the developing countries toward a different set of values.

The Developing Countries Are Looking for New Vistas

The world revolutionary process has recently been enriched by the experiences of the nations' struggle for national and social liberation. Every day, events confirm that we are living in an epoch in which capitalism will be replaced by socialism. Present developments in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are evidence of this.

The logic of class struggle forces the working people of the developing countries to step up their anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggle and come closer to the struggle for transforming society on noncapitalist foundations. The developments in Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, Grenada, and many other countries have shown how rapidly and profoundly peasants can become involved in the revolutionary process and in the struggle for a radical transformation of the nature of power. The socioeconomic needs of Afro-Asian and Latin American states, as well as the general crisis of capitalism, are forcing not only the working class but also the middle classes and intermediary classes [mezivrstvy] (including the working intelligentsia) to look for different vistas of social development.

An important feature of the developments in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is that the revolutionary parties and movements are increasingly orienting themselves according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Historical practice clearly confirms Lenin's thought that the stage of capitalist development is not a general law of social development but that a noncapitalist development, too, is one of the many ways leading to socialism.

Marxist revolutionary parties creatively approach the drafting of the strategy and tactics of anti-imperialist struggle and of the strategy of socialist revolution. The Sandinists, for example, polemicize against the opportunist position that in a backward country the working class should not try to seize power. They say: "It is incorrect to think that in a society in which the proletariat does not constitute the majority, in which the social process does not have a markedly socialist character, and in which the masses are not under the impact of Marxism-Leninism or do not act in accordance with its tenets, it is necessary to back away from liquidating the repressive capitalist apparatus and that the organized proletariat cannot seize power..."

In the present international situation, every country in which a revolutionary situation emerges is capable, regardless of its size, number of inhabitants, and the economic standard, of embarking on the path of profound social transformations.

Are Bernstein and the Pope His Models?

To deprive the revolutionary movement and socialism of one of the sources of their strength -- the tie with the revolutionary theory -- that is the permanent endeavor of reformists. Bernstein and his heirs always instructed the working class and revolutionaries in retreating. They did not champion the theory of struggle but the theory of concessions, concessions to the bourgeoisie.

Proceeding in a similar way, Adam Schaff claims that Marx allegedly did not want to build socialism with peasants. Schaff even brags that once in Mexico he was spreading the proposition that one should not start building socialism in a country with a significant peasant population. He reportedly said that "there is no need to hurry the revolution," which -- as he confirms -- greatly irritated his listeners. He advised them: "The revolutionary's duty is to teach the masses to be patient." (What a coincidence! In the same geographic area, the pope was calling on progressive church officials not to meddle in politics, that is, not to spread revolutionary ideas).

No, Schaff supports neither the proletarian revolutionary movement nor the activity of revolutionary parties. According to him, the intelligentsia does not need a movement (after all, any movement stands in the way of the individual), the peasants are not capable of political activity, and the working class is a mere object of politics because it allegedly lacks the necessary degree of individuality and the capacity for political leadership. His position is all too reminiscent of that of a follower of the technocratic concept advocating a balanced role of the trade union movement and Christian justice, based on the values of the individuality of the human personality.

The question comes to mind, on which side of the barricade of the world class struggle Adam Schaff stands today. On the side of the revolution? Regrettably, everything suggests this is not the case. Adam Schaff claims. "I think I have saved my face." He does not say clearly -- which face. Nor does he have to say so. His views and positions expressed in ZDANIE have betrayed much, if not everything, about his philosophical and political profile. It is a position moving away from the main current to today -- the world revolutionary process, Marxism-Leninism. It is a position that is at variance with the goals of the working people of Poland, Czechoslovakia, other socialist countries, and the nonsocialist countries. That is why it is a permanent task of communists -- and also the 16th CPCZ Congress stressed this -- to wage a principled struggle against rightwing opportunism and all varieties of revisionism. It is a law valid for the entire period of the conflict between capitalism and socialism on the global scale.

LEADERS' ACTIVITIES AT SLOVAK UPRISING CEREMONIES

Obzina Speech on Uprising

AU3O1426 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Aug 83 pp 1,2

["Excerpt" from the speech by Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier, at the meeting to mark the 39th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, organized by the CSSR and CSR National Front Central Committee, the Prague City Committee of the National Front, and the Prague City National Committee on 25 August 1983 in the Valdstejn Palace in Prague: "The Traditions of the Uprising Commit Us to the Path of Honest and Selfless Work"; passages in capitalized letters published in boldface]

[Excerpts] In the political sense, the Slovak National Uprising decisively contributed to dispelling the illusion of the "Slovak state" and dislodged the so-called

of Bohemia and Moravia. Thus, it also buried once and for all the Masaryk-Benes nationalist national concept of "Czechoslovakism" and manifestly declared the demand for a renewal of Czechoslovak statehood, of the independence and autonomy of the Czechoslovak Republic on the new sociopolitical foundations of two nations of Czechs and Slovaks with fully equal rights; it manifested this demand with weapon in hand, in armed battle. THE SLOVAK NATIONAL UPRISING PRESAGED THE NEW POLITICAL REALITY OF OUR HISTORY -- THE ROLE OF THE WORKERS CLASS AND ITS TRULY REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, AND OF SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY AND THE SCIENTIFIC WORLD OUTLOOK IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE EMERGING NEW REPUBLIC.

THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SLOVAK NATIONAL UPRISING DOES NOT LIE IN ITS NATIONAL-LIBERATION NATURE ALONE. IT ALSO MEANT THE BEGINNING OF THE NATIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION WHICH -- AS A RESULT OF ITS DRIVING, SOCIOPOLITICAL FORCES AND THE FAVORABLE INTERNATIONAL-POLITICAL SITUATION, AND THE SOVIET UNION'S VICTORY IN THE GREAT FATHERLAND WAR IN PARTICULAR -- BEGAN TO GROW IN POSTWAR CZECHOSLOVAKIA INTO A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, THUS HERALDING THE BEGINNINGS OF A COMMUNIST SOCIOECONOMIC FORMATION IN CZECHOSLOVAK HISTORY.

The process of unifying the workers class during the course of the Slovak National Uprising was the beginning of the unification of the workers movement in all of Czechoslovakia, Jaromir Obzina then stated. We can responsibly state that the trade-union and political unification of the workers class and its leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party throughout the Slovak National Uprising, and the culmination of this process in the years 1945-48, became the significant prerequisite of the advance and upsurge of the revolution in our country in the direction of socialism. They have become the lasting foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat -- of the socialist state and socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia.

It is always difficult to build a new state, and to build a revolutionary state, a socialist state, is an extremely exacting and complicated task. This has also been confirmed by our experience in the 39 years since the Slovak National Uprising. This is exactly why we are recalling today the well-known experience and truth that states are preserved by the ideas from which they emerged. That is also why the CSSR cannot successfully exist and develop other than as a progressive, revolutionary, socialist state.

He who fails to grasp, or who underrates or even denigrates, the revolutionary and combat traditions of our nations and people, threatens the very existence of the socialist state, our people's achievements and the freedom of our nations. That is why this existence was threatened by the naive phantasies and unscientific speculations about a specific "Czechoslovak road to socialism" at the time of the transition from a national and democratic revolution into a socialist revolution; the same can be said of speculations about the "Czechoslovak model of socialism" and of the sophisticated onslaught of rightwing-opportunist and counterrevolutionary forces in the years 1968-69. THIS EXISTENCE WAS THREATENED IN THE PAST, AND IS THREATENED TODAY, BY EVERY PERSON WHO PREACHES AND PROMOTES IN PRACTICE A SPECULATIVE NATIONAL EXCLUSIVENESS OR NATIONAL EGOTISM, THUS VULGARIZING OR DIRECTLY REJECTING THE MARXIST-LENINIST NATIONALITY POLICY, THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE OF THE LAWS GOVERNING THE SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY ADVANCE, AND THE PRINCIPLES OF PROLETARIAN AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM.

These laws and principles involve the study, knowledge, and application of the generally valid international experience of the Soviet Union and respect for the Soviet Union, this cradle of the socialist revolution and the first socialist country of the world.

The truth and viable nature of this precept is also confirmed by the experience of the Slovak National Uprising: it was truly a national uprising, it was unambiguously based on the revolutionary and progressive forces of the Slovak nation, and at the same time, on the representatives of the revolutionary and progressive forces of the 27 other nations that took part in the uprising -- it relied on the Soviet Union's assistance. In its content it was thus a revolutionary uprising.

This knowledge and this historical experience, Comrade Obzina stated, are extremely valuable; above all, they are lastingly valid. In the spirit of the Slovak National Uprising we, too, can today rely on the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world and above all on the world socialist system led by the Soviet Union. Its leading position in the world socialist system and our alliance with it have proved, in the practice of the past years, to be of extremely significant value for every true revolutionary, for every society and state that is striving for revolutionary change. It is again being confirmed that the Soviet Union is the base of the world socialist revolution and the support of the entire revolutionary, democratic, and national-liberation movement, that the CPSU is the leading force of the international communist movement.

Socialism and its prospects, Jaromir Obzina continued, the international communist movement, and the socialist countries have been linked with the first socialist country in the world and the CPSU since the Great October Socialist Revolution because, realistically, the former could not, and cannot, exist without the latter. Whether one finds it's necessary or not, so long as the world remains class-divided, this will be so. In our foreign-policy orientation we will let nobody confuse or mislead us. Again and again we have been able to convince ourselves that without the Soviet Union, and even less so, in opposition to the Soviet Union, it is impossible to realistically build socialism anywhere in the world -- and that socialism will never be built without it.

There is no doubt that anyone who wants to determine the strategy and tactics of the movement according to the local fashion and the fashion of the times, and who does not know how to assess developments from the viewpoint of historical eras and phases and from the viewpoint of motive social forces, is a bad politician. We realize again that there has been no other path for us since the Slovak National Uprising than the victorious path of socialist revolution -- or else it would have been the path of bloody counterrevolution and white terror. This is confirmed by the experience of the counterrevolutionary attempts to achieve a power reversal in certain socialist countries, including our own experience in the years 1968-69. Loyal to the legacy of the Slovak National Uprising, we will remain true to our revolutionary conviction, to socialism and communism -- we will remain loyal to the Soviet Union!

Czechoslovak statehood, he said, is a value which was born in Europe's political history in the course of the present century. The Slovak National Uprising is one of the new co-authors of Czechoslovak statehood. But it is the CPCZ and its Marxist-Leninist nationality policy that are the guarantees that the tasks connected with the advance of Czechoslovak statehood are being resolved today, and will also be resolved in the future.

Our historical experience must co-determine the contents of our policy even today. If we want to achieve success as a state, we must unambiguously take the side of world progress, as we did at the time of the Hussites and at the time of the national-liberation fight. The greatness and the historical significance of nations and states can lie only in their defense of the great and noble revolutionary ideas and in their being a direct and active part of the world progressive and revolutionary movement.

Only thus can they win their right to exist in the future. Let us never forget this lesson taught by the Hussite movement and the national-liberation antifascist movement! Our nations survived three centuries of bondage with the Hussite ideas; we have recovered our state independences and national freedom with the ideas of the national-liberation struggle; and our future, and thus also the consolidation of our position in the world, are ensured only with the ideas of communism, within the framework of the world socialist system!

These conclusions were confirmed by the Slovak National uprising, and their validity has been proved by the experience of such countries as Cuba and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in the recent past; it is also being proved by the current heroic fight of the people of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and other countries.

Today, too, the legacy of the Slovak National Uprising and its revolutionary traditions, Jaromir Obzina dclared, commit us to defend the revolutionary achievements of socialism in the CSSR, as well as the socialist achievements of the entire socialist community, against all domestic and foreign enemies.

Moreover, the patriotic and international traditions of the Slovak National Uprising lies in its very essence. The fighters of the Slovak National Uprising proved their true patriotism by their devotion and heroism; at the same time, they provided proof of the true nature of the most topical, Leninist thought that the fatherland always was, is, and always will be a significant political reality and human value for the workers class and the working people. This applies to the period of the national-liberation fight, to the period of building and defending the socialist fatherland, and particularly to the current aggravation of international tension in view of American imperialism's preparations for unleashing a thermonuclear war and its endeavors to acquire world hegemony.

Loyal to the patriotic legacy of the Slovak National Uprising and to the memory of its heroes, we declare that we consider it our inalienable right, as well as our duty, to defend our socialist fatherland against any and all attacks on the part of any and all imperialist states.

This is also testified to by the statement of attitude issued by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government on 3 June 1983 on the USSR Government declaration; it fully supports all the measures undertaken by the USSR to ensure its own defense ability and also that of the entire socialist community. This policy contains a significant feature of proletarian and socialist internationalism, since "he who would view frivolously the defense of the country in which the proletariat has won." V.I. Lenin declared, "would break the ties with international socialism"; and, he continued, it is exactly "in the interests of a firmer tie with international socialism: that it "is inevitable to defend the socialist fatherland."

The implementation of the legacy of the Slovak National Uprising was not easy in the past; it is not a simple thing even at present. In implementing it we had to overcome quite a few obstacles and rectify quite a few errors and mistakes. The greatest obstacle that had to be overcome in the past, and that we are overcoming this day and every day, is the pertinacious, reactionary resistance of the enemies of our people, of our nations, and of socialism. But despite all difficulties, Jaromir Obzina stated in conclusion, we are creating a happy present and an even happier future. This is proved by the results of the revolutionary transformations and of our constructive efforts during the past 39 years.

Proceeding from all these facts, we are justified in holding the opinion expressed by Yuriy Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR's Supreme Soviet Presidium: "The communists are convinced that the future belongs to socialism. Such is the development of history." This is also the firm conviction of Czechoslovak Communists -- this is the immortal legacy of the Slovak National Uprising to the Czech and Slovak nations.

Slovak Official Attend Celebrations

LD300446 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 29 Aug 83

[Text] The highest representatives of the Slovak Socialist Republic paid tribute to the memory of those who had died in the course of our national liberation and the antifascist struggle in the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava today. To the tunes of the March of the Fallen Revolutionaries, a joint wreath of the CPSL Central Committee, the Slovak Central Committee of the National Front, the Slovak National Council, and the Slovak Government, was laid by the members of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee -- Jozef Lennart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and Peter Colotka, Slovak premier; Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the presidium of the CPZC Central Committee and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, members of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee -- Ladislav Abraham, Ignac Janak, Elena Litvajova, Ludovit Pezlar, Gejza Slapka and Miroslav Valek -- and by other representatives. Later the participants laid wreaths in Slavin in memory of the soldiers of the great Soviet Army who had lost their lives in liberating our country.

The all-Slovak celebrations of the 39th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising continued with a festive rally of the working and young people of Bratislava and the West Slovak Region. Gejza Slapka, member of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee and leading secretary of the Bratislava Party Committee, delivered an address in which he emphasized that the Slovak National Uprising represented the culmination of the national liberation struggle of our people. He said that in striving to fulfill the tasks of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress, the heritage of the uprising and the antifacist struggle of our people was being followed by new deeds. The selflessness of its organizers and participants remained a source of inspiration for our socialist present.

CHNOUPEK, TURKMEN ISSUE JOINT PRESS RELEASE

LD242055 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 24 Aug 83

[Text] A joint press release has been published at the conclusion of the official visit by Bohuslav Chnoupek, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, to Turkey.

In states that Bohuslav Chnoupek and Ilter Turkmen, Turkish minister of foreign affairs, assessed bilateral relations, noting their positive development, and agreed on the further development of economic cooperation in the form of mutually advantageous undertakings. The two ministers also agreed to exert every effort to extend trade.

Bohuslav Chnoupek and Ilter Turkmen further expressed concern over the worsening of the international situation and again stressed the two parties' determining to continue the effort to guarantee peace and the process of relaxation of tension and to strengthen international security and trust. They also underlined the necessity of eliminating existing sources of tension and of solving all international disputes by peaceful means.

Discussing the situation in Europe, they again stressed that the two countries will follow and strengthen the process started by the Helsinki Conference, and expressed satisfaction with the fact that after long and difficult talks, the Madrid meeting has approached a final successful culmination.

During the visit Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek and Ilter Turkmen signed a program of cultural exchanges between the Governments of Turkey and Czechoslovakia for the years 1983-85. Bohuslav Chnoupek invited the Turkish minister of foreign affairs for an official visit to Czechoslovakia. The invitation was accepted.

HRUSKOVIC AT MEETING ON NUCLEAR POWER STATIONS

LD310320 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] With the representatives of the Federal Government and the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic present, a working meeting chaired by Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, was held in Bratislava today. Its purpose was to lay down a coordinated progress of party, state and economic bodies in solving the topical problems in the construction of nuclear power stations in Slovakia.

DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES FOR VISIT

LD302233 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Denmark, arrived in Prague by air today for an official visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

At Ruzyne Airport he was welcomed by Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs.

GDR AGRICULTURE MINISTER ARRIVES FOR TALKS

LD310656 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1800 GMT 27 Aug 83

[Text] Miroslav Toman, federal minister of agriculture and food, today welcomed in Prague Bruno Lietz, GDR minister of agriculture, forestry and food, who arrived today in Czechoslovakia on a short working visit.

Both ministers will be having talks on current issues of the development of agriculture and of the food industry, and on strengthening cooperation between both fraternal countries. They will also sign a new intergovernmental agreement and an operative arrangement [provadeci ujednani] for cooperation in the sphere of protection of plants and crops.

BRIEFS

PDRY ENVOY ENDS MISSION -- In Prague on 24 August, Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received Ahmad Ibrahim al-Akbari, PDRY ambassador to Czechoslovakia, in connection with the end of the latter's tour of duty in the CSSR. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Aug 83 p 1 AU]

INDRA RECEIVES NEW AMBASSADORS -- In Prague on 24 August, Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received -- in connection with their taking up their new posts -- Lebanese Ambassador (Emile Bedran), French Ambassador (Pierre Henri Dessaux), and Austrian Ambassador Paul Ullmann. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Aug 83 p 1 AU]

VISITING MALTESE MINISTER -- Philip Muscat, minister of education of the Republic of Malta, who is currently visiting the CSSR, was received in Prague by Milan Vondruska, minister of education of the Czech Socialist Republic. He briefed the guest on the Czechoslovak rearing and educational system and on its new content and organizational concept, which has been successfully implemented since 1976. During the talk attention was also devoted to certain issues of cooperation in education. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Aug 83 p 2 AU]

DOLLAR FORGERIES -- A 65-year-old man, who wanted to exchange $340 for Tuzex coupons at a branch of the Czechoslovak State Bank in Bratislava recently, was apprehended by the police when the teller discovered that two $100 banknotes were forgeries. The man said he bought the dollars from someone in front of another bank in Bratislava. [Summary] [Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak 22 Aug 83 p 4 AU]

SLOVAK NATIONAL COMMITTEES' EXPENDITURES -- In 1982, the expenditures of National Committees in Slovakia amounted to Kcs33.3 billion, and their expenditures for this year are expected to be about the same. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Aug 83 p 4 AU]

JAPANESE DIET DELEGATION MEETS VARKONYI; DEPARTS

LD301917 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] The Japanese Diet delegation has ended its talks and left Hungary. The delegation, which was headed by Hajime Fukuda, president of the Japanese lower house, was today received by Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs. Afterwards Lajos Faluvegi, deputy prime minister and chairman of the National Planning Committee, briefed the guests about the Hungarian system of planning and management. The delegation arrived in Hungary on Sunday at the invitation of Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly.

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO CHINA -- Budapest, August 30 (MTI) -- Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee; Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; Istvan Sarlos, vice-chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers; and Antal Apro, president of the Hungarian National Assembly; met Laszlo Ivan, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Hungarian People's Republic to the People's Republic of China, who is soon to leave for his post. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1739 GMT 30 August 83 LD]

LOSONCZI PRESENTS AWARDS -- Jozsef Ferenc, bishop of the Unitarian Church in Hungary, has been decorated with the Order of the Banner of the Hungarian People's Republic on the occasion of his 75th birthday. He received the high distinction from Pal Losonczi for the strengthening of the good relations between the state and the Unitarian Church. The Order of the Banner of the Hungarian People's Republic was also awarded to Istvan Szabo, Sr., sculptor, holder of the Kossuth Prize, on his 80th birthday. The Presidential Council conferred the high award on the artist in recognition of his outstanding artistic achievement. The distinction was also presented by Pal Losonczi. [Text] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 29 Aug 83 LD]

31 AUG MEETING AT GDANSK MONUMENT BANNED

Walesa Request Refused

LD301539 Warsaw PAP in English 1447 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Lech Walesa was not granted permission to organize a rally at 14.30 hours in Gdansk tomorrow, the Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban told a news conference for foreign journalists here today.

Asked about the steps which the Polish Government has taken on the eve of signing the Gdansk Accord of 1980, Minister Urban said wreaths will be laid at the shipyard worker's monument in Gdansk between 16.00 and 16.30 hours tomorrow. In the morning flowers will be laid by the PRON Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, trade unions, worker crews, and management delegations.

Boycott, Demonstration Planned

NC301507 Paris AFP in English 1455 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 30 (AFP) -- The Polish authorities have refused permission for a meeting tomorrow at the Gdansk monument to victims of the workers' strikes of 1970 to mark the third anniversary of the signing of the Gdansk Accords.

Workers from the Gdansk naval shipyards will only be allowed to come individually and lay wreaths at the monument from 4:00-4:30 p.m. local time (1400-1430 GMT) government spokesman Jerzy Urban said at his daily press conference.

Leader of the banned Solidarity union Lech Walesa had been refused permission for a gathering, Mr Urban added. Mr Walesa had written to the authorities saying he intended to lay a wreath at the monument tomorrow, and he was informing them in advance "in case people gather there."

Mr Urban also criticised a recent statement from Polish bishops supporting Solidarity's demands, saying however that church and state remained in agreement on many issues.

Meanwhile, the underground Solidarity movement continued with its preparations for a public transport boycott and mass demonstrations tomorrow to protest against the government's failure to implement the Gdansk Accords. Leaflets were handed out in Gdansk, the Baltic seaport where Solidarity was born, and in Warsaw yesterday urging people to join marches after leaving work and calling for maximum crowds during the 2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. (1200-1400 GMT) transport boycott. Solidarity has also urged people to attend special masses in the evening as a protest gesture.

Polish people interviewed on the streets or at home are almost unanimous in their opinion that the authorities have "broken their word," and have ignored all the freedoms which for them were the main points of the Gdansk Accords.

These include free trade unions, the right to strike, freedom of the press, and a release of political prisoners.

"They have left us nothing but a radio broadcast of the Mass on Sunday" (one of the clauses in the agreement) Mr Walesa said recently.

The government has launched a campaign to convince people that they have abided by the Gdansk agreement, backed up by a booklet titled "the August accords: hopes, realities and perspectives." This concentrates on the introduction of economic reforms, the introduction of Saturdays off (workers now have two in four free, on average), salary increases and social reform.

However, Poles are quick to point out its total silence on the political aspects of the political aspects of the accords, which the authorities, they say, are trying to rule out of account altogether.

Even the practical aspects of the accords have not been implemented too successfully, Poles say.

The wage rises have been swallowed up by price rises of up to 400 per cent on essential goods, and official figures confirm the disastrous effect on poorer sections of the community.

Six and a half million of the Polish population of 36 million were living on less than 5,000 zlotys ($56) a month, Deputy Prime Minister Zenon Komender said at the end of June.

'No Demonstrations' Anticipated

LD301546 Warsaw PAP in English 1503 GMT 30 Aug 83

[By Olga Andrzejewska and Leszek Kubiak]

[Text] Warsaw 30 Aug -- "The government hopes that there will be no demonstrations tomorrow. Sufficient steps have been taken to ensure calm in Poland." the government press spokesman, Minister Jerzy Urban, told a news conference for foreign correspondents in Warsaw today, answering a question about the steps taken by the Polish Government prior to the anniversary of the agreements signed in Gdansk. Wreath laying at the shipyard worker monument is scheduled to take place on August 31 from 4 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. In the morning, ceremonies will be held by the monument, involving representatives of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), trade unions, worker crews, factory managements. The Gdansk authorities refused a permission for Mr. Walesa to organize a gathering tomorrow at 2:30 p.m.

The government press spokesman also added that the whole country was a complete calm and that power consumption in factories was increasing. "The coal output totals 627,000 tonnes a day and shows no variations."

"The call for a production slowdown was unsuccessful. It suffered a complete fiasco," stressed Minister Urban.

Wreaths Laid at Warski

LD310848 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1620 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Report From the Studios in Szczecin]

[Text] At 0800 today representatives of all departments of the Warski Shipyard placed wreaths below the commemorative plaque by the main gate. The people who placed wreaths included director Stanislaw (Ozimek) and Zenon (Pyda), first secretary of the PZPR works committee.

Representatives of the trade union of shipyard employees, the chairman of the workers' council, members of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth Youth Council and of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth were alse present. The ceremony passed off in an atmosphere of intent seriousness. After the participants in the delegations had placed their wreaths they returned to work.

Defense Committee backs Ban

LD301721 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] A session of the Voivodship Defense Committee [WKO] has been held in Gdansk to discuss the sociopolitical situation in the tri-city [Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot] and the implementation of municipal economy tasks concerning the overhaul of housing accommodation. The meeting also discussed the state of preparation of the municipal economy for the fall-winter period.

The WKO, on the basis of its systematic current contacts with work enterprises, states that the sociopolitical situation among the work forces and the whole community of the Gdansk region is stabilizing constantly and is characterized by observance of planned, steady production and fuller supplies to the market. Representatives of work forces [words indistinct] systematically report on the difficulties that they encounter while solving their internal problems and on employees' social and welfare concerns and problems. Systematic work, common sense and realism and the prevention of social tensions, are the main elements of the correct implementation of the August agreements. The 3 years that have passed since their signing are full of examples of how the authorities are implementing the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress and are implementing the agreements point by point.

The overwhelming majority of the working people resolutely rejects appeals to slow down the pace of work, and counters the attempts to sow unrest.

The WKO approves the decision by the major of Gdansk refusing Lech Walesa permission to hold a meeting at the time and form proposed by him:

The WKO orders the militia and the security service and other services responsible for public order to undertake the basic steps to ensure calm and order in the Gdansk region. Such steps aim to prevent adventurist and provocative actions against the working class of the coast.

PRODUCTION AT LENIN SHIPYARD 'IMPROVED'

LD302123 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Today in the port of Gdansk, 27 ships containing a total of nearly 300,000 tons of various cargoes to be transloaded, primarily coal, were anchored. This month the Gdansk dockworkers have transloaded over 1.5 million tons of cargo. It is envisaged that the monthly targets will be fulfilled completely.

After the problems experienced during the first month of this year, the situation has clearly improved at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. During the past 8 months the shipyard workers have handed over seven ships and built eight hulls.

PAPER REPORTS WALESA 25 AUG GDANSK SPEECH

AU301038 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27/28 Aug 83 p 7

[Report on the speech given by Lech Walesa at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk -- 25 Aug]

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Aug -- Reporters of the POLISH PRESS AGENCY, PAP, have filed a comprehensive report on the meeting which Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski had with workers of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk on August 25 (a summary of Deputy Premier Rakowski's speech made there was given by the PAP on August 25). The meeting was held on the days of the 3rd anniversary of the memorable August events. Deputy Premier Rakowski's meeting lasted 5 hours. It was a hot and tense meeting, the PAP reporters say. Every 3-4 minutes his speech was interrupted and booed with tasteless shouts and epithets, eloquently testifying to the low culture of the same group which [words indistinct] Lech Walesa. Those people "providently" took seats in the middle of the hall, having one only task to fulfill: to shout loudly, just anything, without argument. Every now and then the deputy premier turned to them with the request to keep the minumum of calm. But it was to no avail. When he wanted to take his jacket off, one of the blusterers shouted at him to leave on his tie as it might be needed for hanging. The deputy premier kept his composure and carried on his speech.

It was even difficult to agree on a break in the meeting with that cocky group. After the deputy premier's speech, there was time for questions. Lech Walesa had the following longer enunciation to make (according to tape recording).

"I would like to reply to Mr. Premier to some of the charges and take, naturally, only a general overview because I want to answer to the less specific matters as I think that the trifling ones will be supplemented by you. In doing so I beg your pardon, my speech is not going to be sharp. Someone has got to be reasonable in this country.

The first reply: Why was not there a preamble on the leading role of the party in our statutes? Here I answer: There was none either in the bill of fare. I believe that the Constitution is binding for all and repetition everywhere does not simply make sense. That is why there was no preamble in our statutes. And the fight was, in my opinion, unreasonable and unnecessary. That we did not build another Japan -- that is no reason for fun either because we did not build another Poland either. That there were no invited guests from the socialist countries at our congress -- excuse me -- I, myself signed the invitations to all trade unions. That we did not get money from this side, that is not our fault either, because, as for those others, too, we did not ask anybody, and we would have willingly accepted.

As for the groups of armed bands, I rest convinced -- and I surely know about everything -- there were none of such, as we have never fought, with fists and tanks. And we are not going to fight. I would also like to recall that there was no strike on 13 December, the last strike in the universities was ending, and the last strike in the schools was meant to end at Jasna Gora. We had no time.

Simultaneously, I would like to recall that, as for all solutions, all problems which were controversial, there were proposals made before 13 December but nobody had wanted to make use of them. For example, the problem of advisers was a conflict issue. I, myself, personally, made a proposal to solve that problem before 13 December and just after the introduction of martial law. It, naturally, looked more or less like this: You have got a grudge against the advisers, please let's draw up jointly a statute for the adviser. Let's adopt it. Whoever will overstep the adviser's statute, then, naturally, he will be accountable himself.

As for the strike matters. Naturally, those matters were a bit of trouble to us too, but there was a solution: We proposed that a mixed commission be set up which would jointly solve these problems. They did not agree either. Naturally, I could list everything just as the premier did, but I know that I would not list in a whole night all the remarks and grudges which I hold against the government and of which I could also accuse the government. Now I am doing something I am not good at doing, but I myself prepared this speech in a slapdash way, which is witnessed by the first secretary of our department. No advisers, no experts, and no antisocialist forces did it for me.

The hall of reason and compromise. Three years back, for the first time -- and the last one for the time being -- we did talk Pole to Pole. And it augured well. The arguments of the government side became very well known to all of us. The television, radio, the press, and representatives of the authorities exposed all the possible spots. I am of the opinion mistakes were made on the part of the Solidarnosc, but there were still greater ones, in my view, made on the part of the government. We were given no opportunity for defense and public self-explanation. Maybe, it will be possible this time. Please, do not delete from my speech but report it in full. It will not be inciting.

At this point I would like to advise that evaluations not be hurried because, in my view, the same situation exists in the entire country. Naturally, you watch more and spit on us more. And this is the reason why you do not know us; this is the reason why, perhaps, you do not support us so far. But the situation is similar everywhere. Please, do not make fun. The purpose and membership in today's meeting is not clear to the end. We came together by chance and we are not delegated.

Since the beginning of the Solidarnosc, the Solidarnosc was not a beloved child. Logs were being thrown under its feet; it was necessary to fight for each step, for each thing. There are several thousand examples of this and no time to list them, as we could not list them in one full night. Generally speaking, mistakes were held against us because of a failure to meet our needs and aspirations halfway, and effective methods were imposed on us only under a threat. Nothing could be settled without a threat. You were simply sleeping and this, in turn, caused in the final phase, onslaughts upon the inoperative, socio-economic-political cadre; it was not because of our will to take over power but because of the lack of operativeness on their part, and your misunderstanding of us.

We were disappointed today when you went behind our backs and instead of understanding us, you insulted us, dissolved, everything, and sent over tanks and batons agianst us. In August 1980, our slogan was "Socialism Yes! Distortions No." Today our slogan is: "Socialism Yes But the Methods and Ways Which You Chose -- No." We do not want to ruin socialism, we do not want to take over power, we are not undermining the alliances. We would like you to be seated at a table together with us to hold talks on mistakes, errors. We will jointly find solutions and together safeguard ourselves against more distortions for the sake of a better future of our fatherland.

Do not fear us now. Given good will, there are no matters on which we could not find a compromise solution. Let's finally stop playing chess and checkers on one chessboard, as no one can be defeated here. We must win together and jointly find possible and reasonable solutions. Let's release, at last, those poor souls who are in prison. They are not counterrevolutionaries or opponents of socialism. I repeat, they are not opponents of the socialist system, they are the opponents of its methods.

Reinstate people to jobs, let them know that they live in a socialist country. Do not, though, put them off by the methods of the system. Naturally, when regarding us to be opponents of the system as you do, you can intimidate us with the entire system. Once and for all I state that en masse we are not opponents of the system and everything that is related to it.

We want to discuss methods and ways so that no mistakes and distortions occur and so that no one to put and not to may ride into factories on a tank.

Let's discuss matters around a table. We will certainly not convince ourselves of the correctness of the road we are taking with tanks and batons.

Now, something about my personal matters. Stop talking about my millions or of my being a half-American. I am a Pole and I have no bank accounts in the West. I have not embezzled a single penny. I am able to account for everything to the people who have put their trust in me.

Ending up, I beg you not to be offended. Let's sit down at a table, let's talk Pole to Pole, let's find together an avenue to a better future of our motherland.

L. Walesa finished his enunication to the accompaniment of shouts in his honor, still chanted by the same people. The floor did not submit to an atmosphere of a rally.

Referring to several questions asked by participants in the meeting, the deputy prime minister went back to the reasons behind the dissolution of Solidarnosc which were presented in his opening address. He recalled that after the proclamation of martial law the question of Solidarnosc's existence was still open. Mieczyslaw Rakowski demonstrated the facts: In February 1982 the government committee presented the assumptions of the trade union movement. The leadership of the suspended Solidarnosc rejected them without discussion, which it then ordered to boycott. Later on, the underground was built, calls for street disturbances were made, references were made to the policy of the West -- which is extremely hostile to Poland. Instead of steps towards agreement, there was an accumulation of hostility and implacability.

Discussing further the reasons for the dissolution of Solidarnosc, the deputy premier said:

"Why was Solidarnosc dissolved? -- In my speech, I tried to present the reasons. Briefly speaking, Solidarnosc was dissolved because, in my deepest belief, there was not any chance to save the union. In the history of nations, there are extremely complicated and stormy situations without any ideal way out. I admit I used to be a man who thought that after that period of big chaos, after a period of big upheaval in Poland, the most sensible, the most rational way out was simply, as I would put it, to level down the ground (because we had not only Solidarnosc but also the branch and autonomous trade unions) and begin the construction of something new. Of course, one can speak long about Solidarnosc but I would like to make an attempt to appeal to the prudence and reason of even those who are shouting so much here. Yet, despite everything, Solidarnosc is, after all, only a small fragment in our nation's history. One should view it this way. It can be so and it will be so; you will see in years ahead that the passion of today will diminish. It happens this way in the history of mankind. This is the way the world evolves and those who today are holding such an aggressive attitude towards me are part of the millions who joined Solidarnosc adhering to quite different motives than those which today push them to shout and to whistle.

I understand that many people who joined Solidarnosc originally saw it as the force which would cause the creation of a situation in which it [words indistinct] be possible to talk about new errors, but they were disillusioned. There is still no conclusive evidence that there was any hope for Solidarnosc, or any other solution to that complex, complicated problem."

URBAN ATTACKS WEEKLY EDITOR, DEFENDS POLICY

AU300844 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 83 p 2

[PAP article: "Incorrect Appraisals"]

[Text] An article appeared in the 30 July issue of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY by the weekly's chief editor, Jerzy Turowicz, entitled "What Sort of Country Will This Be?" It presented a general criticism of the government's present policy line on domestic political and social issues. Issue 35 of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, which is published in Krakow, carries a response to the theses contained in the above mentioned article by government press spokesman Jerzy Urban.

Jerzy Turowicz's notion that "the law on special legislative regulations to cover the period when we are overcoming the socioeconomic crisis, is leading our country into a troubled transitory state until the end of 1985, and so, for 900 long days," is a wrong one, J. Urban writes. It is not the Sejm law which is responsible for this transitory state which J. Turowicz says is a troubled one, even though this period will be considerably less troubled than the acute phase of the crisis which we have emerged from! This transitory state, from crisis to development, from conflicts and dangers to accord and cooperation, is a correction independent of everyone, including the legislator. The Sejm has just laid down laws which will make it easier for us to pull the country out of the crisis more effectively during the transitory period. These laws help the political and economic processes which improve civic and material living conditions in Poland, in keeping with the wishes of the whole of society.

While stressing that all the laws which were passed and all the practical measures which were taken as a result of the spirit of the workers' protest as expressed in the summer of 1980 against the distortions which were then current, have a permanent and regular nature, J. Urban says, "Jerzy Turowicz either closes his eyes to these laws and measures, or makes light of them. However, the steps which ensure that there will be no return of anarchy, of processes whose aim is to dismantle the state, or moves which the enemies of socialism are making toward a confrontation -- all these steps have a transitory and conditional nature. They are limited to the bare minimum. Whereas, J. Turowicz can only envisage taking another kind of measure. He presents the government's policy as if these safety devices were supposed to express the entire policy line. In his "What Sort of Country Will This Be?" article, he makes an exaggerated and unjust appraisal of the newly passed laws as being, generally speaking, ones which restrict freedom, prolong martial law regulations, and put considerable restrictions on workers' and academics' self-management bodies. In reality however, J. Urban stresses, "we left untouched the principle of self-management in industry and higher education and so on. Laws dealing eith the transitory period only give the state the opportunity to meddle in cases where this self-management has been drastically abused, and if this never happens, then these legislative mechanisms will not be used at all."

Our recent history, continues J. Urban, teaches us that all attempts to right a wrong or improve relations in a sudden or especially violent way, end in failure. In order to obtain permanent improvements we must take gradual measures and must also protect the process of change from the opponents of socialism....

This political philosophy and these historical experiences provide the motivation for the government's legislative measures and inspire us to weigh these measures, whereas J. Turowicz presents the caution we have learned from experience as stemming from the dishonesty of those in power, people who in his opinion, say one thing and then do the opposite. I definitely reject all these libelous statements, J. Urban stresses. The stronger the state, the more successfully self-management bodies and other hallmarks of democratization can develop. Self-managing organizations should therefore consolidate the state's strength instead of weaken it for the sake of their own development as well as that of others....

Arguing J. Turowicz's point that the rigors and the restrictions of the transitory period caused difficulties on the road toward social peace, J. Urban writes, "Jerzy Turowicz tries to give us the impression that he is defending human rights and liberty from the authorities who lie in wait for these values. However, it is we, the authorities, who have a wider, deeper and much more fundamental understanding of human rights and we work with their good in mind. In order for a worker to really implement freedom in choosing his work, there must first of all be a right to work and a good chance of finding it. No other power apparatus or political system gave the working classes the freedom of work, a condition of which is the absence of unemployment. It also provided the workers' class, which our authorities represent, and the peasants' children with essential qualifications for finding, interesting, complex, and up-to-date work...."

In referring to the part of J. Turowicz's argument which treats the recently adopted amnesty and its partial and conditional nature as a law that conflicts with the ideals of political independence, J. Urban points out that, "the amnesty was designed so as not to be granted to the main instigators of unrest. The right to peace is also an important part of human rights! This extensive and far-reaching act of mercy, the implementation of which was boldly accelerated, was planned in such a way to enable its affects to favor social peace and accord, as well as to consolidate the conditions under which a dialogue could be carried out."

Stressing that unconditional amnesty would have meant that the authorities approved of activities in conflict with the law and the Polish raison d'etat, J. Urban said, "The result of such a situation would be intensified conflicts instead of social peace, and filling the prisons with offenders who are politically motivated instead of depopulating them."

By declaring that the appraisals contained in J. Turowicz's article are not only incorrect, but that they completely and fundamentally differ with the government's views, J. Urban rejects the suggestion that the current policy endangers "the loss of national identity," for Poles. This danger does not exist at all, J. Urban writes, neither from the objective viewpoint, nor from the public's point of view. These alarmist worries are negated by the whole course of public affairs, the visit of John Paul II, and state-church relations everything, in fact, which the government does and says...."

Recalling that the government envisages dialogue rather differently from the way J. Turowicz described it, as the authorities and the people are not partners with conflicting goals, J. Urban writes that, "We believe that people are not all the same in their aims and views, while the authorities are strongly influenced by the opinions of the workers. Dialogue should be carried on within the limits of various social streams, but only those which do not negate the principles of the socialist system that has been included in the Constitution.... The state authorities are not will not be society's opponent. The system of the socialist state, despite a few misgivinigs, from its very nature was, is, and will be the reflection of social aims, but not all of them on an equal level.

The state authorities are taking into account all the varied views and interests which are typical of Polish society, but they base their activities on the ideological and political guidelines of the PZPR. The party, on the other hand, makes programmatic assumptions together with the workers' class in cooperation with its groups of political allies, including associations of lay Catholics...."

At the end of his argumentative article, J. Urban concludes that: "My views differ greatly with those of J. Turowicz when he says that a real dialogue, should be one that features two voices, that of the authorities and that of the people, and that such a dialogue still has not been started. This dialogue continues to go on and bears fruits, while life has demanded that it consist of not only two, but many voices, and one of these is precisely the voice of Jerzy Turowicz. It is a voice which adds nothing to the dialogue's authenticity when, in accordance at any rate with the custom of the day, he continually leads us to believe that he is speaking on behalf of the whole of society. The majority of the people agree with the government on many issues, and the fact that our actions conform to public opinion arouses the great displeasure of the publishers of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY."

PAP HITS WESTERN REPORTAGE OF RAKOWSKI SPEECH

LD302258 Warsaw PAP in English 2100 GMT 30 Aug 83

["Western Propaganda Falsifications of Rakowski's Meeting with Shipyard Workers" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Aug -- The meeting between Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and Gdansk shipyard workers has been an important event and it is acknowledged so by the enormous majority of Poles.

The measure of the significance of the Gdansk meeting is also the huge interest with which the Poles followed a report from the meeting in the mass media -- the report presented extensively and objectively everything that took place in the shipyard a few days before the third anniversary of the August agreements.

As usual, Radio Free Europe, Radio France International, the Voice of America and, unfortunately, a considerable part of the Western press have made efforts to distort Vice-Premier Rakowski's meeting with shipyard workers for propaganda use.

What has been considered by anti-Polish radio stations and journalists, having hardly any understanding for the Polish affairs, to be the key feature of the meeting in Gdansk?

Well, an enormous number of news materials about that meeting left out the arguments of the vice-premier but gave eminence, often in headlines, to the whistles and shouts with which the organized group accompanying Lech Walesa tried to disrupt the course of that meeting.

In the version of Radio Free Europe "Rakowski could not begin his speech for a time because he was loudly booed by workers, about a thousand of whom packed the hall." The sentence is formulated in such a way as to suggest -- falsely -- that one thousand workers whistled.

The same dirty trick has been used by some French, American and other dailies. Significantly, part of Western reporters started to double and triple the number of participants. One paper set a record as it reported that two-and-a-half thousand people were present in the hall which can accommodate 700 persons with much difficulty.

Setting M.F. Rakowski against the whistling crowd of workers became the favourite trick of the Western propaganda. Those who listened to the Polish radio and TV broadcast of the meeting held last Thursday know how it is related to the truth.

Meanwhile, the BBC, otherwise a respectable broadcasting station, also employed this trick and paying no attention to the content of the meeting, concentrated on distortions of the form. Already the first sentence of its broadcast on Friday (and the BBC journalists do appreciate the importance of the first sentence) stressed that Poland's Vice-Premier M.F. Rakowski was received rowdily by Solidarnosc following at a meeting with workers of the Gdansk shipyard yesterday. The content of the broadcast consited of a few sentences attempting to outline a false picture which set the heckled Rakowski who attacked Solidarnosc against conciliatory Walesa who appealed for dialogue and was received with an ovation.

Examples of a similar "informative" activity could be multiplied. The following are some samples of assessments of the meeting at the shipyard.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET said that during a several hour-long exchange of sentences with Walesa, Rakowski was getting ever more nervous, red of excitement and finally called to Walesa "you have just convinced me that anarchy still prevails in Poland." When towards the end of the meeting he asked the party members to raise their membership cards, he met with a very weak response (as is known at the beginning of the meeting the vice-premier asked the party members to raise their hands to prove in this way that an absolute majority of the participants in the meeting were non-party members and thus to refute the Radio Free Europe's statement that the meeting was organized only "for one's folks").

WASHINGTON POST reported that workers had hissed on Thursday at Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski who criticised Solidarnosc on the premises of the Gdansk shipyard.

The French daily LA CROXI reported that the authorities had been shouted down and the premier had failed.

LE MONDE wrote that the outcome of this visit was Walesa's triumph and the authorities' failure.

The UPI wrote that the shipyard workers had shouted the vice-premier down.

Wide media coverage given in Poland to the shipyard meeting did not play into the hands of many Western propaganda experts. So here too they tried to meddle into somebody else's affairs. Said Radio France International commentator on Friday:

"Because the 90-minute Polish radio report devoted to Rakowski's visit to the Gdansk shipyard carries information far removed from what Western agencies had reported, I will take the liberty to once again quote those dispatches, which talk both of the mood and the course of the meeting. They also point out the gaps in reports by Polish media."

Radio Free Europe joined in the chorus: "And on Saturday Polish radio unexpectedly broadcast a very wide report on that meeting, seemingly complete, but arranged in such a way as to present the vice premier in a better light than his critics and to make the voices from the hall barely audible."

The Voice of America should take offence at the above: According to the VOA, shouts of indignation, whistles, and other sort of interruptions could actually be heard in two-and-a-half hour radio report broadcast on Saturday afternoon.

Gentlemen, perhaps you should agree on what you want to hear and what be best disregarded.

The mouthpieces of Western propaganda, probably not expected PAP, and Polish radio and TV to give exhaustive reports on the meeting in the shipyard, presented the meeting as "a defeat for the authorities." Radio Free Europe announced that the meeting had "ended in a fiasco" and that Walesa had "won a moral victory."

Similarly, a Swedish radio reporter said: "The meeting must been seen as an unequivocal victory of the former Solidarnosc leader and such a victory was necessary for him because recently the union's underground leadership suffered a number of setbacks and the present call for strike actions met with a very weak echo." Many other Western commentators spoke and wrote in a likewise way. We could see it for ourselves how this "victory" looked in reality.

When the Polish press and next the Polish radio publicized Walesa's statement in the Gdansk shipyard, Western propaganda experts felt surprised. But they quickly shook this off and began to "throw light on the circumstances" and reveal "implications" of the fact. REUTERS opined most calmly that the wide publicity given to Walesa's speech seems to be another attempt at isolating him and his supporters.

The presentation of certain opinions or voices from discussion, even if they are controversial or "inconvenient," is usually a matter of journalistic honesty. The REUTERS reporter prefers to look for hidden motives.

The French news agency AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE is equally well oriented in the "motives." In one of its reports, it said: "The authorities decided to present on Saturday Walesa's meeting with Mieczyslaw Rakowski in the shipyard on Thursday as a proof that Solidarnosc constitutes now a handful of extremists without a future with whom negotiations are ruled out." Having exposed that intention of the authorities, AFP stated next: "The press published practically in full (?the speeches) made during that meeting." Recently, one can find many examples of such strange logic in the reports of Western news media about Poland.

URBAN DISCUSSES TRADE UNION, GDANSK MEETINGS

LD301536 Warsaw PAP in English 1445 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Warsaw 30 Aug -- At his routine news conference for foreign newsmen here today, the Polish government spokesman Jerzy Urban presented his appraisal of the meeting between Gen Jaruzelski and trade unionists assembled in Katowice and the one between Vice-Premier Rakowski and workers of the Gdansk shipyard.

Speaking of the meeting in Katowice, Urban said: "In the government's opinion, this was a very significant meeting and one from which vital conclusions can be drawn. First of all, it indicated that the new trade unions can hardly be branded progovernment ones." "This was a hot bath for the government," he added.

Answering questions from newsmen, Minister Urban said Hardek is free but he did not know where he is now staying. He aslo said the investigation into Przemyk's death is nearing completion and a communique on the issue is expected shortly.

Minister Urban (?replied to) many questions. Asked what were the present whereabouts of Wladyslaw Hardek and whether he made his TV statement of his own will, Jerzy Urban said that Hardek reported to the law enforcement organs on August 22 and, next, the Amnesty Act was used in his case. At that point, Jerzy Urban referred to the content of Hardek's interview for the Krakow paper GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in which he denied that he had reportedly signed any TKK statements the same day.

Minister Urban also said that a total of 20 people did not benefit from the Amnesty Act, including 9 convicted and 11 temporarily arrested persons. That leaves 48 people who are serving prison terms, but their sentences have been halved under the Amnesty Act.

Jerzy Urban replied extensively to a question about his evaluation of the meeting between General Jaruzelski and representatives of the new trade unions in Katowice. A number of conclusions follows from that meeting. Firstly, the meeting was a "hot bath" for the government because the delegates of the new unions displayed a great sense of independence and levelled many critical opinions at the administration which will be carefully studied by the government. They mainly concerned arrogant attitudes of managers towards worker crews, said Minister Urban.

The meeting showed that a new cadre of trade union leaders, including those from the former Solidarnosc, is forming. This cadre will certainly not let themselves be pushed away from that place, continued Jerzy Urban.

The government press spokesman also dwelt extensively on the evaluation of the meeting between Vice-Premier Rakowski and the Lenin Shipyard workers. It is interesting to compare the attitude of the new trade unions to the attitude of the Solidarnosc extremists, who were presented in the hall only by whistles and defamatory exclamations demonstrating the lack of any programme statements. The behavior of the group which accompanied Walesa ran counter to the principles of parliamentarism. He had nothing to say, except for reading out a statement, declared Jerzy Urban, adding that Vice-Premier Rakowski told him after the meeting that he was even surprised that Walesa had nothing to say beside that.

Minister Urban also stated that he is surprised at the way the Western press reacted to that meeting, depicting it as Walesa's victory.

Discussing the issue, Jerzy Urban quoted lengthy excerpts from Western news reports on the subject.

Replying to a question why Western reporters were barred from that meeting, Minister Urban said that this was done because "the admission of the Western press would completely change the character of the meeting. It was a family talk. In the presence of the Western press, those taking the floor would address that press. Walesa can make use of the Western press services everyday. Besides, the hall is not big and we were intent on organizing that meeting right in that hall."

Minister Urban was also asked about the state-church relations in the light of the communique issued by the 195th Polish Episcopal Conference. In his reply Minister Urban said that the state-church dialogue was under way for a long time and there were no differences in opinion on such key issues as state durability and security of its borders. There are differences on less important matters. At that point Minister Urban referred those interested to the content of General Jaruzelski's speech made in Katowice and to his article for the Catholic weekly TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, written in reply to the paper's editor in Chief Jerzy Turowicz.

Minister Jerzy Urban was asked that he instruct Western newsmen on how to report on meetings which are closed to them. He replied that the weekly press briefings are not compulsory and that anyone who thinks they are of no use for him is not compelled to attend them. "I'm presenting my stand and if it's different from yours then, by all means, it is not any instruction," said Jerzy Urban.

"I'm expressing the government view on what you write, gentlemen. There are discrepancies between what you write and what has been seen by Polish society," stressed the spokesman.

Answering another question, Jerzy Urban denied that Walesa stopped being treated as a private citizen after the meeting in the Gdansk shipyard, and he underlined that Walesa came to the meeting as a worker of the shipyard and that everyone who wanted could come to that meeting, too.

Asked about the Polish Government approach to the recent disarmament proposals by Yuriy Andropov, the press spokesman said that the proposal was a weighty step and a goodwill gesture of the USSR. Poland is interested in the proposal to the highest degree because the missiles will also be targeted at Poland. He also noted that the Polish authorities had been informed about that proposal before it was made public.

"We hope that the NATO states will treat this proposal as a step forward in disarmament negotiations. Poland is interested in this to the greatest extent because missiles to be deployed in Western Europe will be targeted on our territory and our citizens as well as on citizens in our friendly countries. Addressing officers during their promotion in Wroclaw last Sunday, General Wojciech Jaruzelski cordially supported the Soviet proposals," the government press spokesman said.

Jerzy Urban also added that the Polish authorities had been informed on the new proposal before it was announced and that this has been customary in relations between Poland and the USSR and other socialist states.

BEJGER MEETS WITH GDANSK SHIPYARD FOREMEN

LD301523 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Warsaw 29 Aug -- The management of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk and several hundred strong group of foremen met today to discuss social and production issues, current tasks and plans. The meeting was attended by Stanislaw Bejger, alternate member of Central Committee Political Bureau, PUWP Voivodship Committee first secretary in Gdansk.

The implementation of this year's target plans showed that Poland's biggest shipyard consistently improves its economic stabilization. The hitherto implementation of this year's plan augurs well for meeting the annual plan and promises to advance next year's production.

Stanislaw Bejger also said that shipyard's stabilization is confirmed by both good economic results and the failure of several calls for strikes over the last months, including calls made by political underground and Lech Walesa for a go-slow. Shipyard workers did not support those calls as they realised that slowing down the pace of work might harm the national economy, Poland's economic relations with buyers of Polish-made ships, and also the workers themselves.

Last months [as received] proved that shipyard workers have their professional aspirations, that they are responsible for their own works, for the results of their work thanks to which Poland may overcome socio-economic crisis.

The population of the Gdansk Voivodship is fully aware of this truth, however, there are people who interfere with the process of normalization of Polish socio-economic life. They are trying to aggravate tension so as to give Western propaganda agressors new ammunition against Poland, new excuse to maintain Reagan's restrictions against Poland. Working people need no further unrest. They need to think over our latest history, to honestly estimate our traversed path and to draw conclusions what should be done to prevent further crisis.

JARUZELSKI 27 AUG SPEECH TO TRADE UNIONISTS

LD271336 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0515 GMT 27 Aug 83

[Speech by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski at Katowice meeting of trade union activists with party and government representatives on 26 August -- recorded]

[Text] Esteemed, comrades, union members! Esteemed participants of the meeting! Today's meeting is in our opinion of special importance. The time we have spent here was very useful; it was time that gave us much food for thought, and enabled party and government respresentatives to look much more deeply into trade union problems, to adopt stances toward them and to draw the relevant conclusions from them.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, I should like to thank wholeheartedly the hospitable miners, the Federation of the Meltallurgists Union, and personally Comrade Chairman Miodowicz -- the hospitable hosts at Baildon. This meeting has been made possible for us in these conditions, and has enabled us to be closer acquaintances. I am convinced that afterward it will enable us to cooperate more actively and effectively. The discussion was very rich, interesting, and instructive. I think that irrespective of its undoubted broad propaganda presentation, it would be a good thing to have it published in full in a special bulletin with a large circulation, which should reach every work establishment. In this connection it is worth stating that the time is getting inexorably nearer for the reconstitution of a union paper, in whose columns unionists could present all issues of importance for them and thus for the country and the working class.

This wide debate still calls for a number of references. Representatives of the government have dealt with a number of matters, which makes it possible for me to gloss over a number of questions, but I think that the work done today constitutes only a beginning of the great work ahead of us. I want to let you know that we intend to subject the rich results of today's meeting to a thorough study and to discuss it at the meetings of the Politburo and the Council of Ministers. I would like to invite to these meetings the chairmen of the federations that will exist by that time, so that we can together review all the problems once again, draw conclusions and present definite tasks.

I think that today's disscussion is worthy of attention because it had a very authentic character and was very frank. It was a tough discussion but responsible, honest, with an understanding of needs and at the same time of the possibilities that exist to meet them. I should say that this was a discussion, literally and metaphorically, without limitations or a kid glove approach. That is good, that is how it should be. We do not expect adulation, and neither do you, I suppose.

The important thing is that proposals are constructive, that they serve our common cause. I personally have the possibility and opportunity to speak through the mass media and in the Sejm, and I do not want to repeat today those matters which I have already had the opportunity to present, especially recently at the Sejm meeting on 21 July, a little over a month ago. Nevertheless I think that this audience, representative of such an important factor in national life and of such an important social force as trade unions are -- an honest and real partner -- deserves to share the concerns and hopes that we link with the current situation.

We are fully aware that we are united by common concern for the country's fate, for the future of our nation. Today's initiative by the telecommunication unionists was crowned by the adoption of the peace appeal a moment ago, an appeal which refers to the anniversary of the tragic September and which at the same time underlines the significance of struggle for the highest human value, which is peace, the peace our nation has made so many sacrifices to achieve. Unfortunately the situation is worsening. There are many signs of growing aggressiveness from imperialist circles, their most adventurous forces, particularly the U.S. Administration. The particular menifestation of this -- which we should state very directly, and which directly influences the European, and therefore our fate -- is the intention to deploy new missiles in Western Europe. At the same time there are many initiatives and great efforts by the socialist countries, by the Warsaw Pact and particularly by the Soviet Union, to find a compromise to keep the balance of forces so important for peace.

On this occasion I want to say that in the very near future the next extremely important and far-reaching -- and I say this also as a military man -- far-reaching Soviet initiative will take place. It will stress clearly once again the good will of the Soviet power and of the whole socialist community in this problem, which is so important for the world and mankind.

In this difficult international situation Poland plays a special role, not only because it is a respected country, a country of not small scale and potential, and not only because it is placed in an extremely sensitive and sore point of Europe, but also, and maybe primarily, because Poland has become a kind of pretext for cold war forces, for destabilization forces; it has become an instrument that people have attempted to play on to justify different kinds of steps harmful to international relations. Our press has already mentioned this, but it is worth recalling today a very significant speech made by the head of the U.S. Administration in Chicago recently, on 23 June. This is worth emphasizing because it was last day of the pope's visit to Poland. [The President said:] I take the liberty of recounting a story from a woman who has returned from Poland. She writes: I feel that I owe you this letter; 3 weeks ago I was supporting the movement for freezing the nuclear arms, but after what I saw there I do not support it any more. Poland is a concentration camp, surrounded by the same barbed wire as in Oswiecim [Auschwitz] and Buchenwald. The fear on the faces of women, men and children recalls events from the past. Poles speak in a low voice, and always look around.

I was wondering whether this is more sad or amusing. Neither noe onr the other. To compare our country with Oswiecim or Buchenwald, a country which lost 6 million killed, murdered, is first of all revolting. But what is more, Poland appeared to be an excellent argument for nuclear armaments. We know why. One cannot stop or limit them because Poland is a concentration camp. You see, comrades, how astoundingly simple it is Missiles, nuclear armaments are to be the cure for Poland's sufferings. But these are not only ordinary, though as I mentioned revolting words. Unfortunately this attitude directly affects the living tissue of our social and economic life. The restrictions are not an image of propaganda, they are a brutal and tough reality. They are a way to break agreements, to punish Poland -- we cannot find other words for it -- to save one's own skin, to not act according to agreed norms.

We feel the effects of those restrictions, they amount to billions of dollars. We will present the bill for them, and we will also prepare a document accusing the U.S. Administration and its allies who were acting under its pressure of brutal blackmail and of damage to Poland. They would like to lead the Polish worker out onto the streets because they want to ease tension in their own streets, where so often it is extremely hot. They wanted an adventure in Poland as far back as 1981. It is not by accident that the saying the worse the better originated then. And, contrary to common opinion, the first economic blows had already begun then. Drastic restrictions on economic cooperation and the creation of different obstacles took place; imports sharply decreased. Firstly there was the coal affair: traditional Polish coal markets were dominated by competitive American coal, which harmed our economy. This is very interesting because then there was no reason to punish us; democracy was then reaching the peaks of anarchy and nonsense.

We know very well that the point was to agitate the nation, to make it begin to protest, to attack the authorities which are inefficient and which cannot feed the nation. Hunger marches, the incident at the Warsaw traffic circle and attempts to agitate the atmosphere in other ways took place. From this there is only one step to an explosion, and from explosion to fratricidal conflict, and how splendidly this would add to the general balance of forces. One cell of the socialist community paralyzed, eliminated, and as a result the whole community deeply weakened. Thus a new partition can be made, and it can be proven that the Poles cannot govern themselves, that the land which they gained as a result of the victory over fascism does not belong to them.

That is why the restrictions that took place in a particularly drastic manner after 13 December were in effect a continuation of this policy, but with a pretext, with an appropriate legend and an appropriate setting, which may also induce repugnance if one compares the Polish situation with the situation of some of the U.S.' close allies -- Chile, Paraguay, Turkey, the Republic of South Africa, and many other countries where martial law exists to this day and has existed for many years, where thousands of people are perishing, where sentences such as flogging, stoning and cutting off hands exist, but where human rights flourish and American aid flows in torrents.

In this contrast we were able to see clearly once more what internationalism means, not again as a word frequently made use of in propaganda -- perhaps not always most ably and convincingly -- but as genuine reality. At the time when in Poland anti-Soviet propaganda raged, when Soviet soldiers' cemetaries were desecrated, when in every aspect we were in a sorry state, the Soviet Union came out with great and constantly growing assistance. After all, today we have very serious debts to the Soviet Union, reaching almost R4 billion and $1 billion, but with unusually favorable conditions, with repayments deferred until after 1985. Furthermore -- and unfortunately few people know about this -- in January 1981, I stress, in January 1981 the Soviet Union gave us nonrepayable credit, or perhaps it should be clearly called a donation, in the amount of $465 million -- almost a half billion dollars -- precisely at that time.

I think that the history of these last few years is very instructive in every respect; it is hard, painful and difficult, but we should draw all the conclusions from it, and we will draw these conclusions.

The situation in Poland is normalizing. This is best shown by the lifting of martial law and the declaration of amnesty -- the creation of a chance for all those who remained undergound, a magnanimous act, an act of leniency, of confidence, precisely an extended hand.

But unfortunately there are people and groups which still have not understood very much and have not learned, which listen to instigations of various kinds mostly flowing from outside, but sometimes also engineered inside the country. Still they have expectations -- expectations of what nobody knows! Time goes on relentlessly and there is no return, there is no return to that which threatened Poland so much before 13 December, just as there is no return to that which became the cause of the crisis in August 1980.

The country's internal situation does not suit those who today may be called, without exaggeration, the inheritors of an idea which has failed -- the idea of anarchy. But in these desperate motions the opponent makes various kinds of decisions and undertakings which are a reminder that he exists, that he acts. This slogan -- work at a snail's pace -- is simply awful nonsense. Perhaps for somebody who has foreign bank accounts, for somebody who gets rich assistance in dollars or heavy parcels or so-called gifts, it is of no great significance. But it is of significance for our society which is having a hard time and which sees its chance and its future in work.

I remember 1981: Again those protests, again those demands, among others with the implication that the government has some secret treasury, that the government has some secret warehouse where it stores food and other goods in order to starve the nation. We do not have any secret coffers or any secret warehouses. What we have is ours, jointly, belonging to our nation, gained through hard work. And unfortunately at the moment there is still not enough of it. To work more slowly when the reform is involved, also means to earn less, to be worse off, to wait longer for an apartment.

And speaking of apartments, it is a painful and difficult subject. But after all, in 1979, during the last decade which has been so criticized -- but specifically in 1979 -- 280,000 apartments were built in Poland, a record number! With shortcomings of various kinds, shortages of schools, kindergartens, shops and so on, we know all that, but 280,000 apartments! And in 1981, the year of raging democracy, 115,000 apartments were built. Now we are trying to get out of this terrible pit, but although one falls down quickly, climbing to the top is much slower. But, after all, when coal extraction fell sharply, when cement production fell, when steel production fell, many other goods and also housing construction also fell. And today we are told: You undertook to provide everybody with an apartment within 5 years. But also, like many other obligations that we have undertaken and are trying to fulfill and realize in every way possible, this one has been perfidiously dug up so that yet another allegation can be made against the people's authorities out of it.

I remember -- I am speaking of this with great bitterness, forgive me, but after all we are all guided by one purpose and one thought -- when I was assuming the post of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, I asked, I appealed -- having seen what was coming to us and having spoken about it from the Sejm rostrum -- for 90 days of calm, only 90 calm working days, nothing more. There was hardly one. It was said that everything in this country is bad, that that which had been built over nearly 40 years was worth nothing. Those who stood behind the Solidarity ringleaders, frequently those with academic or other degrees or titles, have grown up and got their chance in this People's Poland, after all -- on these lands which were given to Poland precisely because it was and is a socialist Poland. If it had not been socialist, Poland would not have been on the Odra and Nysa Luzycka. Only a fool could think that it could have been any different.

So this apparently terrible evil was fought not with good, but with an even greater evil. We have all seen with our own eyes what this treatment, this cure, looked like. Overcoming this deep collapse is a difficult process. The economic situation is improving, and there is an evident movement forward, and a continuing movent at that. But the way to achieving full equilibrium is still long.

An important point along this way will be the end of this 5-year period -- 1985. At present we are acting according to the economic plan adopted by the Sejm, supported by the anti-inflation and (?economic reform) programs. We are thinking further ahead, over longer prospects. The government is working on a development program for 1986-90, and even until 1995, so we are thinking also about tomorrow. Economic reform is being implemented -- another proof of our full determination to go along the road of renewal which is in accordance with the spirit and the wishes of the working class. After all, when we introduced martial law we could have suspended the reform. There was nothing simpler; no conditions, a state of emergency, the economy in decay. Everybody throughout the world was surprised that we had the courage to have the reform in such a situation. Yes, we had the courage because we had confidence in our working class, in our technical intelligentsia, in our people. And we have not been dissapointed.

It has been a truly back-breaking economic move, with all the incidental difficulties that it bears with it right up to today. This reform still does not bring the effects it could and should be bringing if it had been introduced in other conditions, after longer preparation. But I stress once again that it is proof of how sincere our intentions were and are for renewal, socialist renewal. Because socialism, contrary to the opinions of its enemies, is not an ossified system. It is a reformable system, not in the sense of turning it back or into a blind alley, but in the sense of reforms which strengthen the socialist essences of life. Because in essence socialism is progress; it is the most progressive and avant-garde idea, that is both alive and developing.

The opponents of socialism, and in particular often various home-grown experts on socialism, think that nothing good can be expected of socialism. But comrades, let us look around, at the countries of real socialism, countries which after all were created in very difficult conditions. It was that part of Europe which was the most devastated and largely the most backward, with some exceptions. The rate at which, for example, Bulgaria has developed, or Hungary. [incomplete sentence as heard] How efficiently the processes of socialist construction develop in the GDR. We are studying these experiences in depth. Of course, they are not adaptable -- there are different mentalities, different ways of solving problems -- but it is yet another proof that in accordance with Lenin's thesis, socialism -- while retaining its fundamental and universal essence in all cases, in every specific country, in all specific conditions -- develops in a creative way. We should not be full of complexes, should not have any inferiority complex -- quite the opposite -- nor should we be big-headed. We should utilize the experiences of our friends who have been capable of achieving a lot more, and who are ready to assist us.

I am convinced that we shall rebuild our position. This process has already begun. However, the tasks we face are very difficult and serious. After all, the national income -- this basic indicator of what the nation and the economy can afford at any given time -- has gone down drastically; it is more than 25 percent lower than in 1979. Consequently, the resources that can be spent on investments -- that is to say, on development -- the very same resources that come from national income are, of necessity, smaller. As far as our current state of investment projects is concerned, all we can do at the moment is to ensure that these are neutralized, to make sure that depreciation of fixed assets is averted; and I am talking about all investments -- practically speaking -- apart from the housing sector and, naturally enough, the food complex because these are the biggest recipients of investments.

We need development. We cannot lag behind because a technological gap would then threaten us. The world is developing, new technological processes and solutions keep appearing, we witness rapid development in the microelectronics industry and microprocessors, robotization.

Comrade Honecker told me that by the end of the current 5-year plan there will be many thousands of robots in the GDR -- 40,000 or maybe 60,000 industrial robots to replace man, to release man from heavy work, to immeasurably increase labor productivity. At the moment we have several dozen such robots. What a great task we are facing! But it requires resources. And what about environment protection? How great this problem is, how numerous are the serious threats, and again, what huge expenditures, it entails! And what about consumer demand?

In today's discussion you have mainly emphasized wage matters, individual consumption. But what about collective consumption: schools, education, health protection, culture, sport and so on and so forth? After all, don't we have enormous shortcomings in these areas? At the same time, we have record population growth. In general this is not something that's talked about or borne in mind. We are pleased with this and I have already had opportunities to talk about this. But, as a nation, we must be aware of our responsibilities. If year in, year out Poland grows by another tri-city; if every 3 years Poland grows by a Lodz, with a Radom thrown in; if, at the same time, the area of arable land decreases; if, at the same time, industry poisons air and water more and more -- then we must really get down to some serious work. It seems to me a matter of great importance if all the social forces that count for something in Poland -- and after all the new, reborn trade unions are among them first and foremost -- being to search for a key to greater production ir order to divide it more equitably and wisely.

It has been said here today that we still have enormous reserves in this respect. The people's lot is hard. At some places where people work they are making tremendous efforts. Today we have watched work going on in steel plants. We have seen how some of the workers work there. We know how the miners work. We know how those who have other jobs work -- those that work in conditions harmful to their health. We know the hard conditions they have to work in; we know how the plucky Polish women work at home and in the lines. We know all this.

At the same time we say: There are reserves. Maybe not everywhere, but in very many places there are reserves to be found. Quantitatively, as far as the number of hours worked is concerned, the total is less than is the case in countries which are much wealthier than Poland. Vivid examples of this were cited today.

So, we must search for better solutions in the area of work organization, for technical progress, for savings, for quality of production. All this must be supported by an ever higher civic and patriotic awareness and ever higher discipline. Discipline -- wise, concrete and consistent but nevertheless discipline. We need it! There are very many matters that burden the people's everyday lives. Furthermore, these matters do not arise from material or objective difficulties or from a lack of resources. People complicate the lives of other people -- it is as simple as that.

Everyone grumbles about everyone else. This is true of those who build apartments when they speak of those who produce shoes, and of those who produce shoes when they speak of those who produce refrigerators. Traders grumble about post office workers, transport workers grumble about health service employees, and thus we all keep complaining about everyone else. But there are millions of us. That is why it seems to me that trade unions, by their nature and in a socialist state, apart from their numerous other important tasks, are and should be a great school of civic education. This is a national task; the patriotic movement for national rebirth also faces it. We must improve so that our lot improves too. There is no other way.

With regard to the accord: This date is approaching and we treat it with all the seriousness it deserves. This is also a great lesson of thinking in historical terms: How did this come about and what took place after it? Our hand is still outstretched to all people of good will. Let me emphasize this again. The far-reaching amnesty, directed also at the people underground, is proof of this. But there will be no talks and negotiations with adventurers, with people who have repeatedly abused our trust and brought the country to the edge of disaster. Poland is too great and responsible an issue to be toyed and played with.

Not everyone has to agree with everyone else regarding everything. We have repeatedly said this. However, everyone should agree on the supreme goal: the good and development of socialist Poland. There can be no departure from this tenet. Agreement means, above all, people rallying around something, around some aim. It is not just an agreement concluded by someone with someone else, it is not a matter of patting someone on the shoulder, but a matter of solving great national problems of their appraisal and of seeing their perspective. Among these problems today there is above all the nation's material well-being, which must be raised and rebuilt. Even if we have here various opposing views and conflicts, various approaches and opinions, such as there are and will, in the nature of things, continue to persist -- those between the administration and the trade unions, between trade unions and self-management and so forth. Nevertheless there is one common denominator for all of us: the good of Poland. We can quarrel all we want but, guided by the same desire, I am convinced that today and always we will find a proper and correct solution.

I do not hesitate to say that in the current stage of our national life the role of the trade unions assumes a historical dimension. This is because it is precisely trade unions, the new and reborn trade unions, that constitute a convincing, almost symbolic example and proof of the path toward agreement. I think that the rebuilding of these unions as independent, self-governing structures adhering to the principle of good will, people of action and people of work; I think that this is the most convincing proof of how with concrete actions and stances -- not without resistance, not without difficulties, not without a struggle, not without a burden you shoulder and for which you deserve great respect -- it is precisely along this path that the spirit of the August agreements thus understood.

The new trade unions are a reality; they have a future. Most probably many of you, esteemed audience and the vocational communities you represent, at times experience a feeling that this is not enough, that there are still not enough of us, that still we have not managed to implement particular points, that we are coming up against various difficulties. But let us perhaps turn this way of thinking around. After all, they have only been in existence for 6 months. In such conditions, from such a basis, with such difficulties from various (?directions) -- and, after all, you mentioned this today -- you are already a large force, a force of many millions, one that has a program, one in an abstration but in a definite Poland, in the tangible areas of the economy and industry, and one that has old members and so many young ones.

I am pleased to see so many people in this hall. After all, the opinion was expressed that this is a union of old men, of retired peoples. We respect old people. I am one of them. We respect retired people. They have contributed well to the development of Poland. We should remember them better than we do today. However, this is a union which is young in its essence and origins as well as in its composition. The future belongs to it. Comrades, we want strong authentic trade unions. The party wants such unions. It clearly defined this during its 10th plenum. This is an important and immensely significant part of socialist democracy. There is a place for it in our political system.

Recently a word has become fashionable, a lofty word because it is of a foreign origin: pluralism. Various crocodile tears are being shed. We spoke today about this pluralism in 1981 -- that was totalitarianism, despite the fact that various trade unions were in existence. However, those who the extremists of Solidarity did not approve of would not be placed at the same tables. They were mistreated, humiliated, and carted away in wheelbarrows. It transpires that there are two moralities: Pluralism of that kind then was good; what takes place today is unfair, although today everybody has an opportunity to implement a broad and rich trade union program within the framework of your unions. However, we know that something totally different is at stake. You are the heirs of everything that was healthy in the workers' protest, everything that was expressed in our party's ninth congress, everything we have defined as the path of socialist renewal: cooperation, trade unions, self-managements, the administration. It seems that this great experiment will make it possible for us to approach appropriate solutions, if we all treat partnership in an authentic way and mutual respect accompanies it as well as understanding. Nobody should negotiate on their knees; everybody should conduct negotiations with their heads high on behalf of the common cause.

During the course of the discussion critical remarks about the administration were often voiced, and cooperation with self-management was also criticized, although not so often. I have already said that this is a process which must take a certain amount of time, and also that this is a question of real people. If we carried out a quick survey, or a vote or referendum, then it will appear that these cases concern only part, smaller or greater, but only part of factories or collectives. It would appear that there are many cases and perhaps even more where this cooperation is proceeding well. So it is not a law, a document or a formal definition which is the major obstacle here, but rather human weaknesses, which arise from either a lack of experience or from over-sensitiveness arising from ambition or, in certain cases, from ill will. We will try to eliminate the latter with resoluteness.

As I have already said, at a coming session of the Council of Ministers we will examine the problems arising out of today's meeting. This will be an occasion to present this task to the administration in an unequivocal manner. We declare and we shall establish that one of the elements of the assessment by the administration and its representatives will be its attitude to the trade unions and its ability to cooperate with them. We will also provide additional training for them. We feel that there will be no problems with this. We held a stringent examination in the spirit of the reform which was passed well by the administration. We have also conducted a number of very stiff inspections with the military forces. At present, we are conducting those under a different system. We do not pat the administration on the head. Things are not easy for them either. I am speaking here in particular about the state administration, about the parish executive officer and about voivodship-level structures. We have great problems there, too, with cadres and very low salaries. It is not easy to find someone who wants to be an executive officer. It is a responsible job, difficult, and in the first line. This, too, is later reflected in the quality of the functioning of the administration and of various services. The circle is closed. The empty wallet does not make life easier in this sphere either.

However, I do not wish to sound as if I were saying that we will tolerate an inappropriate attitude to trade unions. At the same time, I wouldn't be honest with you, I wouldn't be straightforward if I did not say that cases might occur when people in trade union garb, if I may say so, are not always right. Nobody is infallible.

Everybody approaches a certain problem from a certain point of view, with certain needs and tasks and this is obvious.

Causes will clash sometimes: the cause which is represented by the administration and its higher level [as heard], which has to look in a broader manner at certain issues, which has to balance out needs against abilities and the cause -- which, naturally, is your task, of trying to win better living conditions, remuneration for workers and employees of various spheres of our life. It is necessary to emphasize once again that like everything else,this too is determined by people; it depends on their good will. I am convinced that today's meeting which, undoubtedly, will receive a broad response throughout the country and in the trade union movement, too, and thus in the administration and in self-managements, will be an important step on this path. However, this will not be the last step, and will not be the step leading to utopia. Things do not happen like this in life and they will never happen like this.

At the same time, I will repeat a little of what has already been said by the comrades who preceded me, but the matter is important enough to emphasize it. One of the elements which at present do not portray the whole picture of the real contacts between the administration and trade unions, especially in the sphere of consultations and exchanges of opinions, is the fact that the unions are still in the stage of being born. A large number of small unions exists. Federations are just coming into being. From technical and organizational points of view, regardless of somebody's objective will or otherwise, it is difficult to reach every trade union organization and conduct consultations of that kind in an honest and authentic way. And if the consultations are to be only false, a pretense, then it is better not to have them at all, because then at least you are in a position to say: We have not been consulted. It seems that this is another important point. The working people, workers, who want and must have increasingly greater influence on the life of the state and on their own fate, must unite their efforts, must rally themselves precisely in federations. Only then does the possibility exist to conduct this partner-like cooperation. I believe that we are entering such a stage and that our trade unions will continue to develop, especially, as from today's statements, from both sides of the table. Incidently, it transpires that great possibilities and tasks are facing trade unions as well as great rights.

I would not like to repeat here again that which you know very well, better than I do, but I would like to again stress with full vigor that we see a serious and authentic partner in trade unions, a strong partner, and we want it to be strong. The question could arise as to why. Why should this premier and government want strong trade unions? Do they want to have more problems? [sentence indistinct] No, we want strong unions because we believe that wise, responsible, and patriotic unions will be strong. But this will not be a destructive strength but a creative one which will make us sensitive to evil, which will make it impossible for another crisis to take place. Trade unions are the sensors which reach furthest and which see and can convey earliest that which the working class does not like. That is why the party, our party, the workers' party, respects so much and counts so much on the work of trade unions. And it has committed its members, and will continue to do so, to be active and to give an example by their own role in trade union activities.

When I was preparing my Sejm expose, I was looking for names which, in the history of People's Poland, deserve particular emphasis. They are symbols. They are names of scientists, of artists. Names of people from other spheres can also be found without any problems. I started to look for workers and everything finished with 1956. The rest is anonymous.

Once more, I would like to emphasize that I am not talking about artificial things but it is important that people in every factory should know, respect, and teach the youth that these are our best people, those who work best, those who are the most noble people, those who do good, those who deserve to be treated as models in every respect.

This, too, I believe, is an ambitious task of trade unions, to popularize the work ethic of the working man and to educate young people in this spirit. I am addressing these remarks to workers, to the working class in particular. It is the leading force of our society, the leading force of socialism. We gave it a vivid expression yet again, introducting a special constitutional definition. However, a definition like this has moral and legal significance, but in itself creates nothing and alters nothing. The life of the working class is its real contribution to the construction of socialist Poland. How often it is forgotten by those who slander People's Poland, by those who forget the historic Golgotha of our nation. Unfortunately, workers are sometimes among them too. They are the ones who shout and whistle and understand nothing. They are a misled peripheral goup, led astray. We do not believe that they will come back [word indistinct].

In 1946, Poland had 1 million workers. Today, there are 7 and 1/2 million. Look at this comrades! Workers employed in the large and medium-sized industries today constitute 60 percent of all workers. Before the war, the same index amounted to 20 percent. These are real changes. This is the yardstick of the great promotion of our nation which, to a great extent, emerged from shacks, from destitution, backwardness, war, and destruction.

[Word indistinct] promote them all, despite all difficulties and errors, we have reached today's standard -- a splendid, educated working class, people who stem from this class. They are specialists, scientists, creators, often reknowned throughout the world. The struggle for the position of the working class, its dominating position, is at the same time a struggle for its unity. A split working class, badly organized internally, loses its power. This is one of the important arguments for consolidating the unity of the trade union movement. Thus the unity of the workers.

In the West, the bourgeoisie is very pleased by the fact that there are many trade unions. They are all weak and argue with one another. In socialism the might of the working class is expressed by unity and socialism rests on the might of the working class and it needs that might.

Comrades, we want the advancement of the working class to become a regular process in order to break out of this unfavorable trend which took shape in the past few years due the inadequate influx of worker and peasant children to schools of higher learning. We are working on the introduction of extramural studies for leading workers so as to create the conditions they require, on setting up special preparatory and introductory courses for workers and peasant youth who have had no chance to obtain adequate training in schools or in other conditions.

In this respect we want to fish out the pearls which often get lost. They get lost not because they are not pearls, but because the mechanism is unsatisfactory. The allocation of (?recognition), however, is something very imperfect. Often it gives priority and does not select the people that should be [word indistinct]. We have in mind more organized structures. And again, the trade unions should to a great degree provide the patronage; spot young people who deserve assistance in acquiring higher grades of education.

One of the very important issues, and this is a great victory for socialism, is sensitivity to social justice. I would even say oversensitivity sometimes. But I am saying this in the positive sense of the word. All that abuses the sense of socialist morality, socialist and worker ethics, is received with such indignation and protest. We will wage a war against these phenomena. This is not a simple matter. Starting with speculation, do we not combat it? We do. There is already a second bill, that is a bill and an amendment to it. Prosecution is carried out by the militia. The troops also join in, as do worker teams as well as courts.

And the loss of assets. I have here a huge list. Billions are being reclaimed. But this is a veritable hydra. Even 1 year ago, comrades, there was profiteering from soap and washing powders. Today there is none. There was speculation in wool. The only way to eliminate speculation once and for all is to have an abundance of goods. This does not mean that we should not combat such a degeneration. But this battle will not be fully effective until we achieve a full economic normalization.

The Polonia matters, the problems of unjustified enrichment -- we have now introduced a number of fiscal and other modifications. I do not want to go into details. One cannot throw out the baby with the bath water. We will protect and keep everything useful, but we will combat all the greedy peripheral types who prey on national revenue, on the community. I think we will combat them with growing efficiency.

We have this permanently recurring problem of the so-called parasites. We have greatly narrowed their field. Of course here too we will step up measures. One of the bills introducing additional regulations allows the people's council at the voivodship level to adopt decisions concerning compulsory employment in the municipal economy.

At this juncture I would like to impart information from the talks I had recently with the U.S. congressmen, who also spoke on human rights. I also had an opportunity to say what I thought about it. But among others, I used the following argument regarding the question of these very parasites. The working class, working men, demand and rightly so, that the authorities, the administration coerce them to work. Reference is made to labor camps and to all kinds of measures, including some very extreme ones.

Well. On the one hand coercion to work is a violation of human rights. But not compelling them to work means that the requirements of democracy are not being met, and the majority of our people, that is 90 percent, demand that they be caught.

And I ask you, gentlemen, how should this be interpreted? Only you will never understand this, because this is socialism which has moulded the relations between man and labor, which constitutes a great ethical value. And this will not be understood even by a representative of a very rich country in which unemployment is one of the most painful plagues and one of the most brutal violations of human rights, man's right to work. The same, in fact, as man's right to personal safety. Terrorism, murder, crimes of all kind, manslaughter, robbery, rape -- in the United States these offenses are 9 to 10 times higher than in our country; in Italy 3 or 4; in the FRG something like that, and in France too. I am certainly not saying that in Poland everything in this respect is fine. We believe that crime must be fought and we will fight it. But in our country human rights are better protected in this respect. And what about the right to health care? We do grumble. True there is reason for that. Many things make us anxious regarding certain sections of the health service, although we should not generalize, because there are so many selfless health service workers who serve the people. But there are also bad phenomena. The health service exists. It is universal. Medicines are accessible for everyone. Nobody dies in the street. And how is it in wealthy America. Only the rich can afford treatment. And thus the right to health.

Thus our human rights are very extensive. We, too, have our reason on these matters, our sense of justice, and our socialist and Polish dignity. And we will let no one teach us.

We have adequately been taught the meaning of democracy, the meaning of human rights by history. When I refer to the great importance we, as the power in the socialist state and, above all, as the party, attach to the working class, to its role, I feel, above all, like stressing that this is a workers party. This does not mean that it consists exclusively of workers.

But workers are predominant and it expresses the interests of workers, the workers' deals, and thus the national ideals, because the working class expresses in the fullest way the interests of the entire community.

And when we say the workers party, which is on the path of socialist renewal, on the path of the ninth congress, we can say that it is not only a workers party in its ideals and program, but also in its central authorities which have shaped a powerful worker backbone. The Central Committee is not a phoney committee, it is a working committee, a decision-making committee. The committee, as well as the Politburo, includes a fair number of workers; the Central Committee includes a significant number. This is a major point, and the workers are not just there as decoration. We listen to their voices. It is among workers, among the working people, that they sense most correctly and authentically what the working class is thinking. And we try to benefit from their knowledge and workers' wisdom. That is why, on behalf of the leadership of our party, I want to address you, dear comrades, trade unionists, with our cordial greeting and assurance that the party, the workers party, will do everthing to enable the socialist trade unions to fulfill the role relevant to them in our system, so that the working class, the working people, will realize even more that they need the trade unions, just as they need the party.

I do not want to make promises. I said that we will examine in detail the results of today. We will work out the conclusions emerging from this, as well as programs and schedules. And we will implement them.

If you share this point of view, if you agree, we could regard this meeting as the first one, but not the last. [applause]

I think we may be able to adopt a system for this type of meeting. I would not like to suggest any dates at this stage. We must discuss it together, democratically. But I consider this to be needed by us and by you. I take this opportunity to thank you cordially for your stance, for your -- I shall say it openly -- courage, boldness, character, for your imagination, long-range thinking, because it is to you, just as to the working class, to socialism, that the future of Poland belongs. And this is the road on which we are, on which we will remain and on which, I am convinced, dear comrades, dear trade unionists, we will achieve victory. [applause]

OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON JOB PLACEMENT LAW

PM291951 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 4 Aug 83 p 3

[Interview with Jozef Bury, undersecretary of state for labor, wages and social affairs, by KAR correspondent Irena Scholl -- date, place not given, words in upper-case printed in boldface]

[Excerpt] Scholl: The law laying down special legal regulations for overcoming the socioeconomic crisis is attracting widely divergent comments. Among other things, it is criticized for restricting citizens' freedom and state enterprises' self-management powers. I refer mainly to the regulations which deal with the labor law. Perhaps we could clarify the question of why they have been introduced?

Bury: All the adjustments of legal regulations which we have introduced in the last few years are in conformity with one main idea: we MUST emerge from the crisis, sort out our economy and reform social relations. It was to save the country that martial law had been introduced, and now, for the interim period, it was in the interest of our economy and our society that the Sejm passed the law in question.

Scholl: Is the economy going to benefit from employees being compelled to stay in one work enterprise for 6 months against their wishes?

Bury: That is a misconception. The law lifts the ban on employees giving notice to leave, which was in force in certain enterprises during the period of the suspension of martial law. It thus restores the employee's normal, statutory freedom to terminate his labor contract, determined by the appropriate regulations of the Labor Code.

The possibility of an enterprise extending an employee's term of notice to a maximum of 6 months will be available only to enterprises of particular significance to the national economy, the supply of the market, or the country's defense capacity. I do not expect their number to exceed some 2,000. Their list will shortly be established by the Council of Ministers. Apart from that, it will only apply to those employees who, by leaving, might, for instance, cause disruptions of production processes, cause a deterioration in product quality, or endanger the safety of other employees. Decisions in these matters will be taken individually in each case in the enterprises involved, and there will be no "automatic" ruling.

If this regulation did not exist, it could happen that there would be a concerted mass exodus from certain enterprises of all those best specialists who had been prevented from leaving their workplaces for the previous 18 months [of martial law] You can imagine what a calamity that would be for the enterprises involved -- and, by the same token, it would be extremely harmful from the social viewpoint.

Scholl: But is there no danger of the same thing happening in 6 months' time instead? The whole process will be simply postponed over a period of time.

Bury: It will be SPREAD over a period of time, and this is a major difference. The managers, knowing that they cannot keep these employees, will have to find replacements for them, and in a majority of cases this will most certainly take place before the 6 months are up. Enterprise managers are not keen to retain unwilling employees either.

In our country the problem is not that of employees being "forcibly kept from leaving;" it is, on the contrary, that of excessive manpower turnover, and this trend tends to take rather undesirable directions. Each year every fourth employed person changes his job....

Scholl: There are some who regard the introduction of compulsory job placement as a restriction of citizens' freedoms.

Bury: Here also we often find a somewhat simplified interpretation of the law. The regulation clearly specifies that it applies to certain specific vocational groups, sectors of the economy, and territorial units in the country.

In accordance with international commitments no citizen of our country will be compelled to work in a specified enterprise. We do, however, have an obligation to ensure that planned job placement helps primarily those sectors of national economy which suffer from manpower shortages. And so people who are changing jobs will first be directed to those sectors that are both undermanned and or major social importance, such as the railroad industry,the textile industry, or the housing construction industry. The point is that we are currently witnessing the alarming phenomenon of the "seepage" of the best employees from large enterprises to small cooperative or private enterprises.

The latter produce goods and provide services which are not the most essential from the veiwpoint of the functioning of the entire national economy. This is why it is imperative that further operations to regulate the situation are undertaken -- dealing with the practical core of the problem rather than administrative considerations -- both within the labor market and the sphere of remunerations.

To go back to the regulations contained in Article 6 of the law, these are addressed not to employees but to enterprises, and in particular to employment offices. These will have to pursue a more active policy, encourage growth of cadres with preferred professional qualifications, and bring it home to directors of, say, light industry enterprises that if they do not offer more pay, or better working conditions, to the weavers or spinners they employ -- and there is no shortage of either -- will simply leave to get better jobs for the same money.

We are also putting much hope in attempts to restrict the phenomenon of "poaching" [enticing employees away from one sector and into another by bribery] which is so very harmful from the social viewpoint.

Scholl: My next "why" concerns the power of enterprise managers to increase employees work schedule to 8 hours per day and a 46-hour week. This schedule is quoted in the Labor Code, it is true, but we know that in 1981 it was reduced to 42 hours per week, and in the mining industry even to 37.5 hours per week.

Bury: Let me start by saying that the EFFECTIVE number of working hours in Poland has undergone a REDUCTION in the past few years while in, say, the largest Western countries it has been raised. It is less than 40 percent of the toal number of the employed who work in the 40-hour week system there, while here in Poland the effective number of working hours has fallen to 31 hours per week or, with overtime, to 33 hours per week per person. This is a consequence of the process, normally steady but in recent years very rapid, of extending the length of employees' time away from work through the introduction of free Saturdays, additional annual leave, prophylactic leave [for employees exposed to harmful work conditions] maternity leave, compassionate and discretionary leave, different types of sick leave, and so on.

The possibility of extending the working week to 46 hours is precisely a POSSIBILITY, not a binding principle. It will be applied in cases where the danger arises of raw materials being wasted or inappropriately used, or where it is necessary to increase production of articles in short supply. And, of course, it will only apply to certain enterprises of major importance, specified by the Council of Ministers. Also in this case the extension of employees' working hours need not necessarily apply to all employees: It will only involve those whose longer work schedule will be considered essential for the enterprise to discharge its production tasks.

Scholl: I am afraid that the phenomenon you mentioned -- of employees deserting to small-scale manufacturing industries -- will intensify.

Bury: The prospect of a longer working time equals a chance of considerably higher earnings, since there will be additional bonuses for work carried out in one's free time. I think employees will appreciate that.

But if we consider it in general terms you are right. The discipline essential for running large enterprises is an irksome thing for many people, and this is why their management teams have the duty to keep searching for improvements to make work in their establishments more attractive. It is indispensable here to make improvements not only as regards wages but also working conditions.

It is also essential to extend the scope of social welfare services extended to work forces, this recently being an often neglected area. And the most important thing of all is to ensure good organization of work and encourage a good working atmosphere. The director who ignores this while intending to achieve production increase solely by applying regulations contained in the law in question -- and these, after all, are only ANCILLARY regulations, not to be treated as the ONLY available tools -- will lose his battle.

Scholl: The introduction of an obligation to employ persons sent to take up work in an enterprise for social considerations is sometimes regarded as an attack on the principle of self-management of enterprises. One hears complaints that "on the one hand we are expected to prove the effectiveness of our management policies and on the other we are forced to employ people who are handicapped or work-shy."

Bury: Considering there are manpower shortages in most enterprises, each additional pair of hands ought to be treated as a great asset. Experience also shows that, for instance, most handicapped people carry out their duties far more conscientiously than many an able-bodied employee. And so they need not constitute a burden. Especially if we were to allocate a certain proportion of financial means available from the Employment Incentive Fund to finance certain rehabilitation programs and certain costs connected with employing them, similar to practices applied in handicapped persons' cooperatives. Obligations of this kind follow directly from the principles of our sociopolitical system.

A similar situation arises in the case of the so-called birds of the air [work-shy individuals] Once you start something, you must persevere with it. Society has expressed its view at length on the need to take care of the problem of those "who saw not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns," but who nonetheless enjoy a good life. Consequently they need to be given an opportunity to do some "sowing and reaping." In any case, the law states explicitly that the Council of Ministers may (as opposed to must) introduce an obligation of this kind, and this can only be applied in the case of certain specified socialized enterprises. Obviously it would not apply in cases where, for example, it might cause demoralization of young, or else cause insufficiently integrated, work forces. It is essential to provide appropriate conditions first, and enlist people who are both willing and capable of carrying out proper resocialization of the erstwhile "parasites." All this would be carried out within the framework of the job placement system, and so much depends on sensible and rational action taken by regional bodies.

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES HUNGARY'S MARJAI FOR TALKS

LD301527 Warsaw PAP in English 1449 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Warsaw 30 Aug -- Chairman of the council of ministers, General Wojciech Jaruzelski received today Jozsef Marjai, the deputy prime minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, head of hungary's delegation for the current session of the Polish-Hungarian Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technical Collaboration.

Key problems of the Polish-Hungarian cooperation in economy were taken up during the meeting, which was attended also by Poland's Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Madej, Polish Ambassador to Hungary, Jerzy Zielinski and Hungarian Ambassador to Poland Jozsef Garamvolgyi.

SCINTEIA VIEWS TIES WITH WEST, MISSILE PROPOSAL

AU310733 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1353 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 30/8/983 -- In Socialist Romania's conception the development of normal relations among states, irrespective of social system, their active cooperation are an imperative imposed by present-day realities, "SCINTEIA" of August 30 writes in an article on Romania's consistent stance in favor of peace, collaboration and understanding among all states in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. The article reads, among other things: Peaceful coexistence does not mean that there are no armed confrontations. It calls for a permanent improvement of interstate political relations, for their transformation in relations of friendship and active cooperation, for an intensified exchange of material and spiritual assets in which all the peoples of the world are interested.

Romania has expanded on multiple planes her relations with capitalist countries in the neighboring geographical area, with Western European countries having long-standing relations with countries on other continents, such as the USA, Canada, Japan. The RCP and the Romanian state firmly ground these relations, as the relations with all the states of the world, on the rigorous observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty fully equal rights, non-interference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, renunciation of the use and threat of force, each people's right to self-reliantly decide its destiny -- the only ones able to ensure a lasting and productive collaboration among nations. Romania's experience has highlighted once again the fact that the difference in social system or viewpoints on a series of issues cannot and must not be an obstacle to promoting good relations when one starts from joint interests, when the convergence point, what is mutually advantageous, is taken into account.

Summit contacts are of an essential and decisive importance for the development of Romania's relations with the developed capitalist countries.

In the years elapsed since the ninth congress of the party, Romania's president had over 70 meetings with presidents and prime ministers of 26 developed capitalist states. The scope and diversity of Romania's relations with these countries are also highlighted by the fact that over 400 bilateral agreements and understandings are in force at present.

The good relations extant between Romania and developed capitalist countries find a telling expression in the field of economic collaboration. Besides commercial exchanges, special attention is paid to the promotion of modern forms such as bilateral cooperation ventures and cooperation in third markets. Almost 100 actions of cooperation especially in high-tech branches and financing-banking fields are being carried out with firms from developed capitalist countries. 40 joint marketing and production companies have been set up with partners from Western countries. Romania, that militates for a broad and unhampered development of economic cooperation is of the opinion that all restrictions and obstacles from interstate economic relations should be removed, just as all protectionist and discriminatory practices, all the measures meant to impose inequality or provide for unilateral advantage.

Likewise, she works for the development of scientific, cultural and artistic exchanges.

As far as the international life is concerned, Romania continues to focus on intensifying the efforts of all states, no matter their sociopolitical system, to the end of preventing the further deterioration of the international situation, resuming and continuing the policy of detente, halting the arms race and passing to disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place.

The messages Romania's president sent to the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, to Yuriy Andropov, and to U.S. President Ronald Reagan on stopping the location of new medium-range missiles, withdrawing and destroying the ones in place were a new and telling expression of the high responsibility he shows for the destinies of world peace and highlighted the fact that although no progress has been made on Euro-missiles at the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva, there still was time for those negotiations to successfully conclude by the end of the year, that everything possible should be done for positive results to be scored. These messages take account of all possible instances, mirroring, through tangible proposals -- such as that regarding the postponement for another year of NATO's decision to deploy new missiles or that concerning the adoption by the two states of the joint decision not to locate medium-range missiles in West Germany, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and other countries (if no agreement is reached in Geneva) -- Romania's will to consider every possibility of continuing the dialogue, able to free Europe from the threat of nuclear destruction.

JAPANESE PARLIAMENTARIANS ARRIVE, MEET GIOSAN

AU301915 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 30/8/83 -- On August 30, in the afternoon, a delegation of the Japanese Diet arrived in Bucharest, headed by Hajime Fukuda, speaker of the House of Representatives, to pay a visit to Romania at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly.

Arriving at the Otopeni Airport the delegation was welcomed by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Romanian parliament, and by deputies.

The same day, Nicolae Giosan received the delegation of the Japanese Diet, headed by Hajime Fukuda.

During the interview, stress was laid with satisfaction on the upward evolution of the Romanian-Japanese manysided relations in keeping with the understanding covenanted at top level. The wish was expressed to further deepen and diversify the relations between the two parliaments, to the benefit of the Romanian and Japanese peoples, of the cause of peace and understanding throughout the world. Emphasis was also placed on the role of parliaments and parliamentarians in the general context of the preoccupations for the improvement of the world political climate, for the intensification of the process of detente, for the negotiated settlement of the states of conflict extant in the world.

The Bureau of the Grand National Assembly gave a dinner in honor of the guests.

FOREIGN SECRETARY DEPARTS FOR NORWAY, SWEDEN

LD301307 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1100 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Belgrade, August 30 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lazar Mojsov left for an official visit to Norway today, Tuesday, at the invitation of Norwegian Foreign Minister Svenn Stray.

The foreign ministers of the two friendly countries will exchange views on bilateral cooperation and the most topical international issues. Mojsov will (?meet) with Norwegian Prime Minister Kare Willoch and will be received by King Olav the Fifth.

After the official and friendly visit to Norway Lazar Mojsov will leave for Stockholm to attend a session of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute at the invitation of the organizers of the session. The session will bring together many prominent statesmen and politicians.

In his address at this important meeting Lazar Mojsov will present Yugoslavia's stands on problems of peace, security, and disarmament.

SPILJAK RECEIVES AMBASSADOR TO SPAIN 30 AUG

LD301838 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1437 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Zagreb, 30 Aug (TANJUG) -- Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, received Berislav Badurina, our country's ambassador to Spain, in Zagreb today.

During the day, Badurina was also received by Josip Vrhovec, president of the Presidium of the Croatian League of Communists Central Committee.

LCY'S MARKOVIC RECEIVES TANJUG DELEGATION

LD310710 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Aug (TANJUG) -- Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today received a TANJUG delegation comprising Aleksandar Bakocevic, director; Mihailo Saranovic, chief and responsible editor; and Josip Antunovic, president of the TANJUG League of Communist Action Conference. TANJUG's representatives informed Dragoslav Markovic of the preparations to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of this news agency. The talks centered on the efforts made by the collective to implement the technical modernization program in order that TANJUG might keep pace with the development of world news agencies and continue to play a significant role in the world exchange of information and in the pool of nonaligned countries' news agencies. It was stressed in the talks that TANJUG cooperates with 80 news agencies throughout the world, that it has a very high daily output and that it has been recently also present every day at the UN headquarters with its services.

TANJUG's representatives also informed the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium about the state of the collective, the constitutional transformation of the agency, and the debates so far on the role of TANJUG's founders, in which role the SFRY Assembly, by continuing the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] tradition, also has its place.

'WORSENING' ELECTRICAL POWER SITUATION VIEWED

LD310343 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 30 Aug 83

[Text] The demands for electricity are out-growing the modest production capacity of the country's hydro- and thermal power plants. This is the reason given by Yugoslav power industry experts for the gradual worsening of the electro-energy situation and for the lessening or increasing of restrictions in respective republics and provinces. The situation is at its most difficult in Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Hercegovina, but one cannot speak of a stable situation in Slovenia and Serbia either.

That power consumption is increasing is also clear from the fact that the daily needs cannot be satisfied without 155 million kwh. Further increase in consumption is expected in autumn and winter -- up to as much as 220 million kwh. The rivers have practically dried up and their total inflow for 24 hours does not exceed 25 million kwh. Favorable hydrological circumstances of sufficient quantity are produced only by the Djerdap Hydro-Power Plant. However, the Djerdap Hydro-Power Plant -- the country's largest -- has also decreased its daily output by more than half. Such low inflows have not been registered in the last 4 decades. Despite this, in order to satisfy the growing demands by consumers, 20 million to 30 million kwh are pumped from them daily.

The burden of production is, therefore, borne by thermal power plants fuelled by coal. This means that, in the future, the electro-energy situation will to a large extent depend precisely on the performance of the miners. As regards thermal power plants fuelled by residual fuel oil, the jets of these derivatives are becoming increasingly thin. Therefore, the necessary quantities of power are, for the time being, met by imports from Italy and Switzerland, but this too is uncertain because these countries have already indicated that they too will need more power.

The Krsko Nuclear Power Plant is still being repaired and will be back in operation only at the end of September. What remains beyond doubt is that at this point in time a method of saving and rational consumption must be determined so that more drastic reductions might be avoided.

BRIEFS

UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES GIVEN -- Belgrade, 29 Aug (TANJUG) -- The draft of a social contract on the basic elements of a joint employment policy for the country, which was recently finalized by the Federal Executive Council, will shortly be passed on to the SFRY Assembly for consideration. In a statement made in this connection, Dr Djordje Jakovljevic, member of the Federal Executive Council and chairman of the Committee for Labor, Health, and Social Protection, said that the complexity of the existing unemployment problem in the country was not due to the number of the unemployed -- which is about 915,000 -- but also to the nature of the unemployed -- 50 percent of whom are specialists, 76 percent are young people up to 30 years of age, and 57 percent are women. To this one should add, owing to recession, about 780,000 Yugoslav citizens employed abroad, 600,000 of them in European countries. Hence one of the country's uppermost concerns, Dr Jakovljevic says, is to be able by the end of the medium-term plan to stop unemployment from rising -- in the first 3 months of this year it rose by 56,000 -- and begin to reduce it. This is basically the aim of the future social contract. [Excerpt] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 290922 LD]